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(Signed)... P. Ng'wandu

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

The University of Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 35107
DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

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THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN MEETING THE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF UJAMAA VILLAGES IN TANZANIA

by

© PIUS NG'WANDU

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania" submitted by Pius Ng'wandu in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

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Supervisor

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Date 2nd August 1973

ABSTRACT

Tanzania is in a state of revolt against underdevelopment. Underdevelopment as seen in Tanzania represents poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression and exploitation.

Tanzania's revolt against these obstacles to development calls for a total revolution in society's values, orientations and organization. This revolution calls further for a mobilization of both the physical and human resources for the achievement of the development goals. Tanzania and most of the emerging nations have realized the crucial role that is played by education in the process of socio-economic transformation have placed heavy emphasis on the development of education, especially the formal school system. Formal education at the secondary and tertiary levels is highly valued because it leads to the realization of the most critical and most pressing need in national development, i.e. the need for self-sufficiency in the supply of trained manpower.

However, during the inauguration of the First Five Year Development Plan in 1964 it was realized that in addition to the development of formal education it was also necessary to educate the productive adult population. For the successful implementation of the development policies depend largely on the quality of the adult population currently involved in the production process. Moreover, the products of the school system take considerable long periods before they start postively contributing to the growth of the

emerging nations which cannot afford to postpone their development plans until the school system has produced enough trained manpower for immediate qualitative and quantitative improvement in production which is necessary in order to meet the expanded expenditure on formal education, social services and other development projects. National integration also cannot afford to wait for the products of the school system, it must forge ahead within the framework of the adult population.

It is also felt that for the adult population to improve its productivity and to get itself involved meaningfully in the process of nation building, the new ideology, attitudes and skills must be transmitted to the people. In Tanzania, adult education seeks to improve the quality of production as well as the quality of human existence by heightening people's ideological commitment to socialism, and participation as well as improving their technology.

The central theme of this study is to identify the development needs of the rural communities on mainland Tanzania within the framework of the Ujamaa Villages Strategy[1] and indicate how adult education may meet these needs. In attempting to make a critical review of the theories on development and underdevelopment the author identifies the salient features, i.e. needs and constraints, which face Tanzania in its efforts to achieve its development goals through

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[1]The Ujamaa Villages Strategy was declared as an official policy in 1967. It is an attempt at rural transformation through villagization and socialist organization of production. An Ujamaa Village is intended to be a voluntary multi-purpose co-operative and economic unit.

the Ujamaa Villages Strategy. In addition, this study attempts to indicate the contribution which adult education is making and can make in meeting and overcoming some of these needs and constraints.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this project as a scholarly piece of work is a result of co-operative endeavour.

I owe my thanks to Professors M.K. Bacchus and J.R. Young for supervising and guiding me in the planning of this work. These two have worked closely with me devoting their time in giving me helpful suggestions and encouragement.

For the sociological orientation of this study my thanks go to Professors M.K. Bacchus, C. Cardarolla and A.K. Davis. My interest in the study of Education as an agent of social change in ex-colonial countries was further mobilized by their inspiring lectures.

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From Tanzania I would like to thank my wife Lucy for her patience and for encouraging me to stay on to complete the work when I felt depressed and for sending me valuable up to date information.

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CHAPTER ONE

In its revolt against poverty and in its attempt to improve the general conditions of living in the country the Government of Tanzania has decided that its development would take place along socialist lines within the framework of 'Ujamaa and Self-reliance.'[1] Following this line of development, improvement of the general conditions of life in the country means the improvement of the conditions of life in the rural areas where more than 90% of the country's population reside.

One of the major strategies which will be used in such development is adult education. As far as the Government is concerned education of the adults is vital if this rural transformation is to succeed. For the Government is convinced that these changes cannot be enforced from above but must be brought about voluntarily by the people themselves. It is only when people really understand the policy that they would begin to become a positive force in the implementation and thus ensure its permanent success.

President Nyerere of Tanzania says that adult education is a necessary factor in bringing about this proposed development and has repeatedly made this point in some of his speeches. To quote him on this point:

---

[1] Ujamaa and Selfreliance are the two basic policies on which all other development policies depend in Tanzania.

> We must increase the production of goods of all kinds in Tanzania and we must develop our nation along socialist lines so as to enable every man and woman to develop in freedom and without being exploited. In the rural areas this means we must increase the numbers of Ujamaa Villages and we must expand the co-operative production in all of them.[2]

In another place, the President stresses the need of the people's voluntary participation in this process when he says:

> The people themselves must decide whether they are prepared to take this movement. For we are not simply trying to organize increased production; we are trying to introduce a whole new way of life for the majority of our people. This can only be done once people understand its purposes and voluntarily decide to participate.[3]

Another point about adult education which the President stresses is the immediacy of its returns. As he has pointed out, "national progress could not wait until school children had been educated and had grown up to take their places as active citizens."[4] The long gestation period between investment in education and production would also be reduced through adult education. For a poor country like Tanzania this is an important added consideration.

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[2]Julius K. Nyerere in The 1971 Literacy Compaign (University of Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education) p. 7.

[3]Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) p. 174.

[4]Julius K. Nyerere, Tanzania Ten Years After Independence (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1971) p. 34.

1. Aims and Organization of the Study

The purpose of this study is to

(a) analyze the structural sources of underdevelopment in Tanzanian society and

(b) assess how effective the strategy of adult education is likely to be in the transformation of society in the rural areas along the policy Ujamaa Villages.[5]

In this study an attempt will be made to survey the relevant literature on development and underdevelopment in the economically less developed countries (LDCs) with the express purpose of attempting to identify the nature and dynamics of underdevelopment. This is done in Chapter Two, Part A.

Chapter Two, Part B attempts to examine Tanzania's concept of development and to assess the applicability of the concepts and theories discussed in Chapter Two, Part A. Since underdevelopment in Tanzania is identified as basically being rural underdevelopment, Tanzania's development policies and goals are discussed with particular reference to the problems of rural development.

Chapter three discusses the policy of Ujamaa Villages as a major strategy for rural development in Tanzania. The history of rural development in Tanzania is discussed and the rationale of adopting the policy of Ujamaa Villages is assessed. An attempt to identify the advantages, constraints and demands of this development

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[5]The policy of 'Villagization' or 'Collectivization' along the lines of socialism (Ujamaa) and Self-reliance in Tanzania.

policy is also made. This analysis leads to an identification of those demands posed by the Ujamaa Villages' strategy which can be met more effectively through adult education.

The development of adult education in Tanzania is discussed in chapter four. Three compaigns in adult education namely, (a) the UNESCO-UNDP Adult Literacy Pilot Project, (b) Tanzania's Adult Education Year 1970 and (c) the 1971 Literacy Campaign in six districts, are closely examined in order to identify the difficulties and progress made in the drive to educate the nation. An attempt is also made to assess the role which adult education has played and could play in meeting the particular demands and constraints posed by the Ujamaa Villages' development strategy.

2. Method and Sources

This study has relied heavily on documentary and textual materials. Various textbooks and journals treating the subject of underdevelopment in the LDCs have been consulted. In addition policy statements, annual reports and mission reports from the Tanzania Government and UNESCO have been studied. The Documents and Periodical sections of the Cameron and Rutherford Libraries at the University of Alberta proved to be valuable sources for the UNESCO and United Nations materials, while most of the data on adults in education in Tanzania were obtained from the Ministry of National Education and the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania

3. Delimitations of the Study

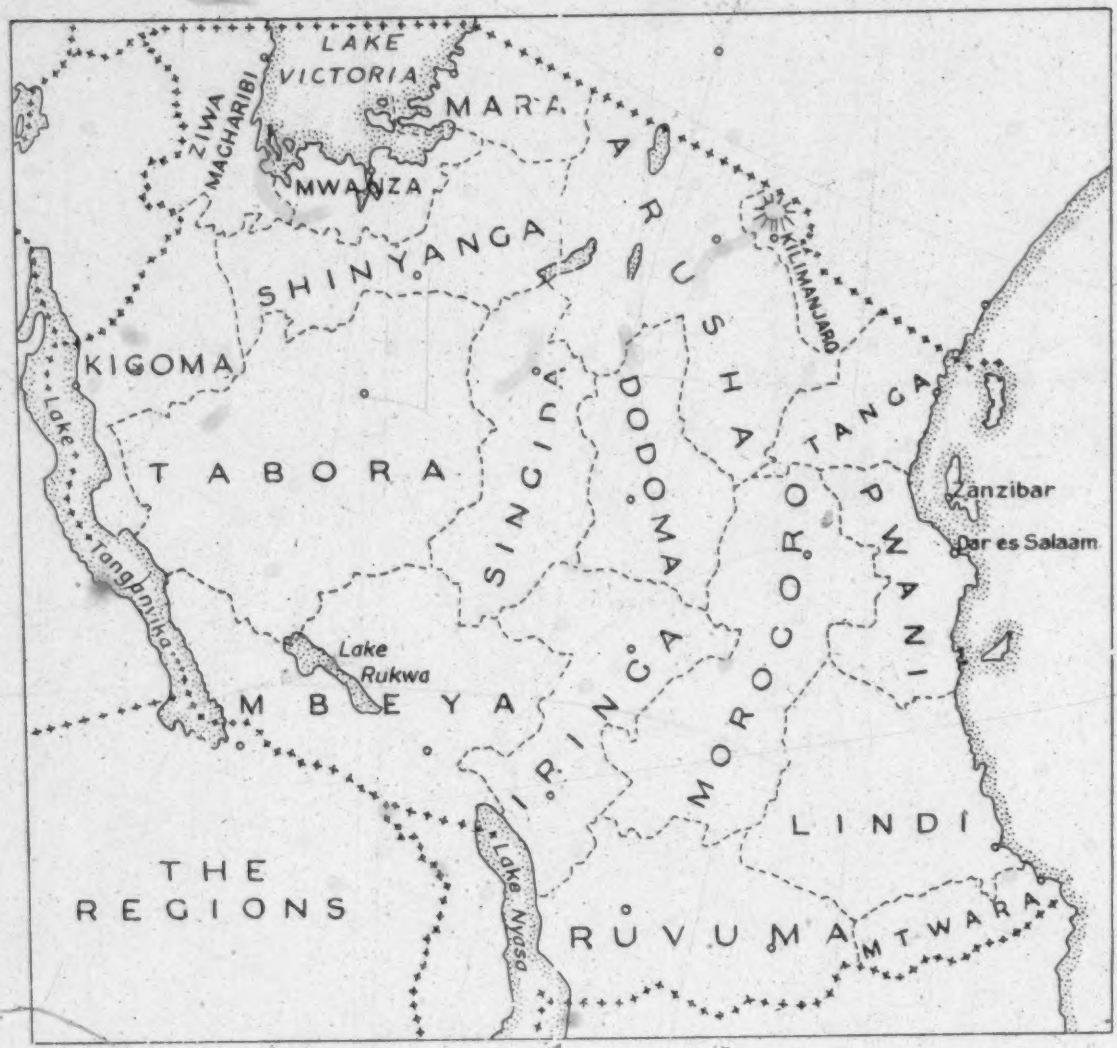
This study has been limited in its scope by the difficulties in getting data and relevant statistics. The survey of the literature has also been limited to those theories, in the eyes of the author, which are directly relevant to the problems of ex-colonial developing countries. Lack of resources and time prevented the author from taking a trip to Tanzania to have a first hand observation of what was going on in the Ujamaa Villages during the one year that he was away on study leave in Canada. Lack of information on the timing and actual geographical distribution of the Ujamaa Villages makes it impossible to make any meaningful conclusive statements concerning the relationship that may exist between adult education inputs and the growth of Ujamaa Villages.

Confined by these limitations, the study will attempt to examine whether in light of the genesis of Tanzanian underdevelopment adult education is likely to play an effective role in speeding up the implementation of the Ujamaa Villages' policy. Secondly an attempt will be made to assess the success of those adult education projects so far undertaken, in the realization of the development goals of the country.

4. The Context of the Study: Background Information on Tanzania

The study is concerned only with Mainland Tanzania which prior to the union with Zanzibar in 1964 was known as Tanganyika.

The United Republic of Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa. It is situated just south of the equator and borders the


LAKE
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ARUSHA
KILIMANJARO
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TABORA
SINGIDA
DODOMA
TANGA
PWANI
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
MOROGORO
Lake
Rukwa
MBEYA
IRINGA
LINDI
THE
REGIONS
Lake Nyasa
RUVUMA
MTWARA

Indian Ocean for 500 miles. It stretches north and south for about 740 miles and from east to west 760 miles. It is bounded by Uganda, Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire, Burundi and Ruanda. Tanzania's total area is 362,800 square miles with an estimated population of 12.3 million people (1967 census). Of these more than 90% are Africans belonging to over 120 major tribes. However, only one among these tribes, the Sukuma numbers over one million members. The non-African population in 1967 included people of Indo-Pakistani origins, Arabs and Europeans. These later groups represented about 1.1% of the total population but exercised considerable influence over the country's economy.

The majority of the African people are linguistically classified as Bantu-speaking but ethnic strains range from the Nilotic and Hamitic peoples to groups which trace their origins to the Nguni (Zulu) in South Africa. Swahili (or Kiswahili) is the official and national language. It is widely understood and spoken throughout the country.

The most important social unit in tribal society is the extended family. Members of the extended family live together, cooperating in production and sharing ownership of the basic means of production. Most people live in scattered settlements in the rural areas as subsistence farmers. Pastoralism and crop husbandry form the main occupation of the people.

There are only 4% of the total population living in towns. The urban centres are mainly administrative centres from which the regional and the district authorities operate. Dar es Salaam, with

a population of about 300,000 is the capital city of Tanzania. It is also an important seaport, commercial and educational centre. The University of Dar es Salaam is situated just in the outskirts of the city.

Administratively, the country is divided into regions, districts, divisions, wards and villages. From this year 1973 distinctions between urban and rural administration have been abolished; the big cities like Dar es Salaam have assumed the status of regions while the municipalities have become districts and the other towns have become divisions. Heads of regions and districts are appointed by the President of the Republic and are known as Regional and Area Commissioners, respectively.

Tanganyika became independent from colonial rule on December 9th in 1961. Five years later and, after uniting with Zanzibar, Tanzania constitutionally adopted the one-party system of government. This system provides for only one political movement in the country which all people can belong. Under this system in Tanzania, Government and Party activities are closely related. In 1967 the philosophy of Ujamaa and self-reliance was adopted as the country's ideology. In order to understand the importance of these changes for the development goals of Tanzania it is necessary to examine briefly the country's history.

The major external contact with the outside world began with the arrival and settlement of the Shirazi and the Oman Arabs on the Tanzanian coast in 700 A.D. Between 1000 A.D. and 1500 A.D. vigorous

trade and cultural activities had developed along the coast. A distinctive culture, sometimes referred to as the Swahili culture evolved as a result of intermarriage and cultural assimilation between the coastal Banter-speaking tribes and the Arabs.

European contact began with Vasco da Gamma's call on the East African coast in the 15th century while on his way to India. This visit sparked off Portuguese interest in Zanzibar and the East African coastal strip. However, during the 18th century the Portuguese were expelled from Zanzibar and the coastal strip by the Arabs and the Shirazi. Zanzibar then became the trading centre of East Africa as well as the centre of the slave trade.

Tanzania mainland came under German rule from 1886 up to the end of World War I. The Germans had met with stiff resistance from the tribes in the process of extending their rule over the country. More often such resistance was crushed ruthlessly and an authoritarian rule imposed. The Germans abolished the slave trade but only to replace it with forced and indentured labour. In 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar sought British protection thus bringing the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar under British rule.

After the First World War, Tanganyika was placed under the mandate of Britain by the League of Nations. When the United Nations was formed after World War II, Tanganyika became a Trust Territory with Britain remaining as the administering body.

Effective political activity demanding for self-determination and independence from colonial rule began with the formation of TANU -

i.e The Tanganyika African National Union, in 1954. - TANU was born out of the former Tanganyika African Association (TAA), an organization which had mainly catered for cultural and recreational interests of the African civil servants. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere was elected as TANU's first president.[6]

TANU grew and developed rapidly as the authentic nationalistic movement acting as the spokesman for the growing African discontent against colonial rule. Independence brought with it problems of national reconstruction and development, thus calling upon TANU to transform itself from a movement geared to fighting an external colonial oppression into a force capable of mustering the people for political and economic independence. Even before Independence the need for undivided loyalty and organization for freedom and work was recognized. TANU's campaigning slogan after 1957 became 'UHURU na KAZI' which means 'Freedom and Work.'

Before 1961 there were several political parties in opposition to TANU of which the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) and the African National Congress (ANC) were the most significant. However, the results of the general elections in 1958/59, 1960 and 1962 had demonstrated that there was tremendous public confidence in TANU. In all occasions TANU won all the contested seats to Parliament and the local

---

[6]Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere is still the President of the Party (TANU) and of the United Republic. His excellency, is referred to as Mwalimu - i.e. Teacher or Professor because in the first place he is a teacher by profession and secondly because of his philosophy and belief in leadership through education.

councils. In the 1958/59 elections TANU won all the 30 contested seats, while in 1960 TANU won all the 71 seats except one which went to an independent candidate, a former TANU member. These circumstances led to the decision to declare the defacto one-party system, as dejure by an act of Parliament in 1965.

Finally, a brief description of the country's economy would be appropriate at this point. Tanzania is still a very poor country economically, with over 90% of its population living at the subsistence level on a per capita average income of $US 70.[7] Although increasing emphasis is being placed on industrialization, agriculture is still the basis of the economy accounting for half the national income and absorbing nearly 85% of the country's work force. Of the total 1967 G.D.P. of $US 797 million the agricultural sector alone contributed 52%.[8]

Recent years have witnessed (see table 4 and 5) significant increases in the production of agricultural cash crops such as cotton, coffee, cashew nuts, tobacco and sisal. Agricultural exports, primarily sisal, coffee and cotton, account for 78% of Tanzania's foreign trade. The benefits from these increases however have been somewhat offset by dropping world market prices on sisal due partly to increasing competition from synthetic replacements.

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[7] Canadian Council for International Co-operation, World Facts Chart, (Ottawa: 1972).

[8] Ministry of Information Tanzania Who - What - Where, (Dar es Salaam: Printpak Ltd. 1971).

The economy as a whole has been growing at an average rate of 4.3% at constant prices between 1960 and 1967.[9] The Gross Domestic Product has increased by 60% between 1960 and 1968, i.e. the total GDP at current prices rose from shillings (TANZ) 3,700 million to 5,660 million.[10]

The mining and manufacturing sector of the economy have represented an average of 8% of the Gross Domestic Product although they have been growing at an annual rate of more than 2 and 10 percent respectively ever since 1960. Diamond production accounts for more than two thirds of the total mineral output.

Economic planning began to play an important role in Tanzania with the launching of the First Five Year Development Plan in 1964. This plan was the first of three consecutive plans aimed at the further expansion of industry and the resettlement of farmers on new irrigated land to ease overcrowding in the fertile areas where land hunger up to this date is still apparent.

During the Second Five Year Plan 1969-74 emphasis was being placed on the improvement of the living conditions of the masses. Development projects aim at achieving structural changes in the economy in order to provide the basis for sustained growth over a long period. Rural development with emphasis on agriculture was therefore regarded as the key instrument in laying the foundation

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[9] Ibid.

[10] 1 shilling Tanzanian = $US 0.14.

for self-sustained growth. To this end the Government has earmarked shillings 635,544,750, i.e. 23.1% out of a total development expenditure of shs. 2,750,000,000. Compare this figure with that spent during the First Five Year Plan 1964-69 when Government agricultural expenditure accounted for only 7.88% of total expenditure.[11]

The manufacturing sector has also been increasing steadily since Independence and by 1967 it contributed more than 5.5% of the Gross Domestic Product as compared to little over 1% contribution of this sector at Independence in 1961. Concentration has been, for the most, on import-substitution industries, designed to make Tanzania self sufficient in market consumer goods, such as textiles, food production, footwear and household articles. Tanzania hopes to continue to expand its manufacturing sector with assistance from the East African Development Bank, an entity attached to the East African Economic Unity. The Community includes Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania but also provides for accession to membership by other states in Eastern and Central Africa. It is through the community's Common Market that Tanzania plans to increase its export trade in East Africa.

Tanzania's balance of payments has been consistently favourable experiencing in the fiscal year 1967 a surplus of $14 million. Its balance of trade has also been favourable, although deteriorating since the onset of the steady decline in the price of sisal which Tanzania produces in greater quantities than any other country in the world.

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[11] United Republic of Tanzania, Second Five-Year Plan (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1969 June) pp. 2-3, 10-12.

Another important aspect of the Tanzanian economy since 1967 has been the nationalization of the major means of production. This scheme was provided for by the Arusha Declaration, a document containing the Party's resolutions, to follow a socialist and self-reliant path in its development. Foreign banks, insurance business, import and export trade, housing business, processing and marketing of important cash crops were brought under control of the state in terms of ownership and management. This was done in order to give the Government more control of the economic development of the country. This control would ensure that all the major economic institutions would be used to support the direction of the development proposed by the Party.

CHAPTER II

A: THE NATURE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: A SURVEY OF THEORIES AND RELEVANT LITERATURE ON DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN EMERGING NATIONS

This chapter seeks to examine briefly some of the leading theories and literature on the nature of underdevelopment in the emerging countries.

Ever since the launching of the United Nations Development Decade (1960-1970) the world has concerned itself with the problems of underdevelopment searching for its causes and attempting to identify the needs and constraints of socio-economic transformation in the emerging nations. A number of scholars, mainly economists have written on the subject of underdevelopment and have put forward various models and suggestions as to the causes and possible remedies of this phenomenon. This chapter first describes the main concepts and arguments presented and then attempts to assess the ability and limitations of these theories in explaining underdevelopment and development in rural Tanzania.

Before discussing the theories it is necessary to comment briefly on the underdeveloped countries in general. Underdeveloped countries are sometimes referred to as developing, less developed, emerging or third world nations. Statistical indices and quantitative indicators of economic growth such as the GNP, average growth rates, proportion of population engaged in agriculture, and per

capita average income are usually the principal measuring rods of economic development or underdevelopment. Countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America are classified as being underdeveloped relative to the technological advances, capital accumulation and the material well being reached by the industrial nations. Underdeveloped countries are characterized by mass poverty and low incomes per capita (under $500). Disease, ignorance and exploitation by external forces also characterize these countries in differing degrees. Nearly all the underdeveloped countries have been under colonial rule and only recently have they 'emerged' as independent nations. It was not until after World War II that the countries in Asia and Africa regained their political freedom and their right to self determination. India and Pakistan became independent in 1947 setting the pace for the other countries in the British Empire. In Africa (subsaharan Africa) it was Ghana in 1957 that set the liberation movement apace. Most of the theories selected in this study conceive underdevelopment in comparative terms with the implicit attempt to assess the emerging nations' pace of development in terms of the developed nations. However, a realistic assessment of development in this region cannot be based solely on statistical and quantitative indices; other qualitative measures appropriate to the situation need to be introduced.

The selection of theories discussed in this chapter treat underdevelopment in different perspectives. Some treat it as simply a lower level in the evolution of productive forces, a lower stage in the natural process of growth while some treat it as merely a

falling behind, a loss of tempo in economic and social development. However, there are theories which take a different approach to underdevelopment treating it as a specific motion on development sui generis linked up with the development of capitalism, imperialism and international trade.

For the purpose of analysis the theories selected for discussion in this chapter will be grouped into five main categories. This classification is necessarily arbitrary and is done only in accordance with the emphasis placed by the theories on certain variables of development and underdevelopment. The five categories are as follows:

(a) Economicism;

- (i) Demographic factors
- (ii) Productivity of Labour
- (iii) Natural Resources
- (iv) Capital shortage
- (v) The vicious circle approach

(b) Psychologism;

(c) Sociologism;

(d) Historical Evolutionary approach;

(e) The Centre-Periphery thesis.

1. Economicism

This category includes those theories which look at economic growth as the major index of development and is mainly concerned with the utilization of economic resources to maximize the rate of economic growth. Such factors as the input of capital, optimum allocation and utilization of resources, the rates of demographic growth and the

importance of international trade are among the major concerns of theories following this approach. The absence of these factors in aggregate or in combination is considered to be the cause of underdevelopment. The less developed countries are underdeveloped because their productive forces have been stifled by the lack of these economic factors. Thus underdevelopment is seen as an inter-dependent system of relationships, i.e. independent of the outside world, existing between the individual deficiencies within the economic system of the LDCs themselves.

1.1 The Demographic factors

The theories stressing the demographic limitations to development point out the effect of population increases in outstripping the rate of economic development. It is argued that the uneven impact of Western technology in the form of medical care has led to an increase in population without a proportionate increase in the economic growth rate. During the period of 'demographic transition' when the death rate falls more rapidly than the birth rate the per capita economic growth rate is considerably reduced impeding the ability of the country to take off. This is due to the fact that a high percentage of the population are not producers but consumers instead.

In addition, the dependent population demands for an increasing proportion of the GDP to be spent by way of social services such as education, health and others preventing the more rapid accumulation of capital needed for investments and further economic growth. The result

of such a slow rate of economic growth produced by rapid population increase is stagnation of the economy.

1.2 Low Productivity of Labour

A second inhibiting factor is the relatively low productivity of labour in the underdeveloped countries. Shortage of qualified manpower especially in the critical sectors of the economy is considered to be one of the main causes of economic stagnation and low quality performance. Lower productivity of labour leads to a lower rate of capital formation and thus tends to gravitate the economy toward subsistence level. However, productivity of labour could be improved through education, better health services and the introduction of more mechanized means of production, factors which all need the expenditure of capital which is in short supply in these countries.

1.3 Shortage/Underutilization of Natural Resources

It is contended by some authors that the LDC's are either poorly endowed in the natural resources that support economic and technological development or they underutilize these resources. Poor soils, enervating tropical climates coupled with tropical diseases such as malaria, sleeping sickness and the like, do not offer a favourable environment for development. Thus a distinction is made between underdeveloped resources and backward people.

1.4 Capital Shortage

Underdeveloped countries are thought to be backward because they have very little capital per head of population. The low level of capital utilization in production leads to low productivity, high production costs and unemployment of both the human and physical resources.

In addition, this further retards the rate of capital accumulation since with low productivity the propensity to save is low. Some theorists, however suggest that capital shortage is not the critical issue, rather it is the shortage of viable projects and the inability of the economy to absorb capital that retards development.

1.5 The 'Vicious Circle' approach

According to this approach underdevelopment is seen as an inter-dependent system of the relationships among the individual economic deficiencies mentioned previously. Economic backwardness results from the low output and low rate of savings which lead to capital shortage. The resultant vicious circles are a combination of the different limiting factors in various ways linking population factors, capital shortage and labour characteristics in static chains of relationships. Three types of vicious circles can be identified in the literature, namely the static vicious circle, the quasi-stable equilibrium with its idea of the criticial minimum, and the backwash effects of international trade.

(a) The Static Vicious Circle

Meier and Baldwin's[1] model of capital deficiency is an example of static vicious circles of poverty. Capital shortage leads to market imperfections in that the people do not possess enough purchasing power. This leads to the further underdevelopment of resources and the backwardness of people in terms of skills and knowledge. Capital shortage accompanied with the people's backwardness lowers the productivity of labour and hence the output per capita. In a chain reaction sequence this leads to low real incomes, low savings and low level of demand. The level of investment, as a consequence is negatively affected creating further capital deficiency. The assumption of this theory is that the economy is held static and stagnant.

(b) The Quasi-stable Equilibrium and the Concept of the Critical Minimum

Leibenstein,[2] using the concepts of the quasi-stable equilibrium and the critical minimum, attempts to explain the nature of underdevelopment and its cure. Underdevelopment is considered as a self-reproducing state of equilibrium without development! This 'dynamic' equilibrium is neither stable nor permanent. Increases in the GDP are outstripped by population growth thus calling for increased

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[1] Meier, G.M. & Baldwin, R.E., Economic Development Theory History and Policy. (New York: John Wiley 1957.) pp. 315-333.

[2] Leibenstein, H. Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth. (New York: Wiley 1963).

expenditure on social services and putting strains on the productive sectors. This tends to pull the economy back to the subsistence level. However, like Rostow's concept of the 'take-off' Leibenstein's theory sees the application of a critical minimum of effort and resources as necessary in order to break the economic stalemate.

(c) The Backwash Effects of International Trade

The unfavourable terms of trade experienced by the LDC's is seen as a reflection of a number of internal unfavourable factors. The pre-capitalist structures and the uneven impact of Western civilization act as barriers to reforms and diffusion of better methods of production. The inherited colonial racial hierarchy, the plantation system with its tendency to overspecialize on primary production; ignorance of market forces, narrowness of the home market and the poor quality of labour are factors cited as militating against the establishment of a viable competitive economy.

The effects of these internal limiting factors spread and spill over to affect the relative position and bargaining power of the emerging nation in the world economy. It is because of the fact that these nations are poor and underdeveloped that the terms of trade are adverse! Myint further suggests that "underdevelopment is a phenomenon which arises because the process of economic development has been too rapid and the initial conditions too unfavourable to give to an effective counter-vailing power to check the foreign domination."[3]

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[3]Myint, H.L.A. Economic Theory and the Underdeveloped Countries. (London & Toronto: O.U.P. 1971) pp. 86-87.

Underdevelopment is further reinforced by the new wants and aspirations which develop disproportionately to earnings and leads to a failure among the population of the developing countries to adjust to the realities of their own economic situation.

2. Psychologism

This approach emphasizes the psychological or motivational factors as the most important variables in determing socio-economic growth. This approach postulates that the root of underdevelopment lies in certain psychological factors prevalent in the underdeveloped societies. Certain motivational factors, personality types, attitudes, and beliefs are considered as pre-requisites and concomitants of development and tend to be missing or are at minimum among the population of traditional socieities.

Three views can be observed in this approach:

(a) McClelland's N-Achievement Motivation Theory

(b) Kunkel's Differential reinforcement theory and

(c) Hagen's Authoritarian-Innovational personality theory.

2.1 N-Achievement Motivation Theory

The n-achievement hypothesis states that, "a society with a generally high level of n-achievement will produce more energetic entrepreneurs who in turn produce more rapid economic development."[4] It is not the social structure nor is it the reward system that

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[4]McClelland, David. The Achieving Society. (New York: The Free Press 1961). p. 205.

accounts for cultural and economic development but it is only the high degree of individual motivation or need for achievement which counts.

The n-achievement factor results largely from the process of socialization and family structures in which children grow up. It is an autonomous force within the individual although to a certain extent it can be influenced by ideology, beliefs, persuasion, education and training. Achievement motivation is more often found among the middle class and members of oppressed or subordinated groups hence the critical importance of these groups in the development enterprise.

Underdevelopment is thus seen to result from a lack of n-achievement in the population. According to this view the LDC's need a concrete plan for stepping up economic growth through mobilizing effectively the high n-achievement resources of the developed countries. This means that the developing countries have to increase the qualities of 'other directedness,' 'market morality' and 'n-achievement.' In so doing they must correspondingly decrease 'father-dominance,' 'particularism' and conformism in society. Prerequisites to development are changes in values, beliefs, attitudes and the development of residential and psychic mobility. The type of development which McClelland envisages is that which characterized the U.S.A. in individual entrepreneurship which flourishes best within a capitalist economic order.

2.2 Differential Reinforcement Theory

Kunkel stresses the role of an effective reward and reinforcement system in motivating people to action. In order to change man's activities one only needs to change certain elements associated with

the conditioning context. He regards roles as being related to economic goals and economic development. Behaviour is largely a function of the surrounding reward system of the society. The social structure thus affects behaviour through the operant reinforcing and discriminative stimuli. Socio-economic development is thus essentially a learning process. If, therefore certain roles and institutions are functional to the process of development they will be reinforced as supporting roles.

In traditional societies entrepreneurial behaviour is regarded as being deviant and quite often not rewarded. This contributes to the underdevelopment of entrepreneurial activity and the society in general.

Kunkel suggests that what is needed is the transformation of the closedness of the reward system in the traditional societies so as to allow for differential reinforcement thus accommodating innovative deviant behaviour which is needed in the development of entrepreneurial activities.

2.3 The Authoritarian-Innovative Personality Theory

Hagen stresses the importance of child rearing practices in the inculcation of attitudes and values favourable to development. He asserts that development from traditional to modern society is essentially brought about by changes in the personality structures of the population. He identifies two ideal types of personality, namely the authoritarian and the innovative personalities. The authoritarian personality characteristic of individuals in pre-modern underdeveloped

societies needs to be transformed into the innovative personality typical of modern societies, if development is to take place.

This tranformation takes place through a social process which starts from what Hagen terms 'withdrawal of status-respect.' Different influences may cause such withdrawal of respect. War, non-acceptance of expected status on migrating to a new society are examples of such influences.

In the LDC's development of new aspirations and the erosion of the traditional sense of respected status leads to withdrawal of status respect. Extreme authoritarianism in the form of colonial rule causes status withdrawal from the subjugated people thus leading to resentment anxiety, rage and retreatism among them. These attitudes lead to changes in child rearing patterns as parental behaviour changes. Father-dominance recedes and mother-dominance supercedes it. The mother thus assumes a much more conspiciuos role in the education of the children. This shift in child rearing practices eventually leads to the development of an innovative, self-reliant personality, regarded as the necessary prerequisite for development.

According to Hagen, therefore, the underdeveloped societies need to change their 'high need-conformity,' their 'high need-dependence' and 'high need-affiliation' characteristic of the authoritarian personality type into the patterns of the innovative personality. The innovative personality is characterized by 'n-achievement,' 'need-dominance,' and 'need-autonomy.'.

3. Sociologism

Theories under this category assume that underdevelopment is an original state which may be characterized by certain indices of traditionality. In order to develop, the emerging nations must abandon these structural features of traditionality and copy those of the developed countries. The transition from traditional society to modern society is essentially regarded as development and all societies moving along this continuum would, according to these theories, display some common structure typified most strikingly in the pattern variables identified by Parsons. Marion Levy in Modernization and the Structure of Societies[5] proposes six polar distinctions between modern and pre-modern societies.

Traditional Societies	Modern Societies
(a) Traditionality	(a) Rationality
(b) Ascription	(b) Achievement
(c) Particularism	(c) Universalism
(d) Functional Diffuseness	(d) Functional Specificity
(e) Intimacy	(e) Avoidance
(f) Homogeneity	(f) Heterogeneity and Individuality

Within this group of theories three views can be distinguished, namely the Parsonian structural-functionalist approach, the modernization approach and sociological dualism.

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[5]Marion Levy in Modernization and the Structure of Societies. (New Jersey: Princeton U.P. 1966), pp. 136-137.

3.1 The Structural-Functionalist Approach

Talcott Parsons[6] and Bert Hoselitz[7] characterize underdeveloped societies by the pattern variables of particularism, description and functional diffuseness. Development then means the greater differentiation in the function and structure of society resulting into more complex and specialized roles, collectivities and sub-systems. Differentiation leads towards the enhancement of the adaptive capacity of society. Emerging nations are underdeveloped because they have not adopted themselves properly to the forces and processes of differentiation.

The process of differentiation entails changes in the value system. It involves movement from the particularistic values to the more generalized universal values. Fundamentalist resistance to such changes in traditional societies as particularistic interest clash with universalistic values. The mode of adjustment to this type of conflict and resistance in society charts its future pattern of development. Some societies when faced with severe conflicts and strains tend to stagnate and fail to adapt themselves to changed conditions. This may result in disintegration, insulation or absorption by other more powerful cultures. According to this theory, the less developed countries (LDC's) have reacted invariably in one or a combination of the above mentioned ways.

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[6]Parsons, Talcott Scoieties: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966).

[7]Hoselitz, F. Bert, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe 1960).

Alternatively societies under strain would react by resorting to innovationand adaptation thus allowing opportunity for further evolution.

Parsons distinguishes three stages of development in the evolution of societies;

(a) the primitive stage

(b) the intermediate stage, and

(c) the modern stage.

The transition from the 'primitive stage' into the intermediate stage is marked by the development of language as part of the cultural system. Literacy develops thus making it possible for the accumulation and accurate recording of innovations. The transition from the intermediate stage into the modern stage is marked by the codification and development of the legal system. Developed societies, therefore, are those which possess a written language and a codified legal system.

The development trend can be summed up as being a transition from simple structures with a high level of homogeneity and diffuseness of function to complex, heterogeneous functionally specific structures. Parsons warns, however, that this evolutionary model should not be taken as being uniform nor being continuous, for there is room for variability among the different societies. In the opinion of the author, it seems that development is still conceived within a unilineal pattern of evolution. For in order to develop, the emerging nations need to eliminate the pattern variables of underdevelopment and develop those exhibited by the modern socieities.

3.2 The Modernization Approach

Although there is a lot of literature dealing with underdevelopment and modernization in the less developed countries, Eisenstadt's treatment of modernization has been selected because of its coverage of the colonial aspects and factors. The process of national development is seen as being tied up with political modernization. Modern industrial societies are seen to have developed from pre-modern traditional structures through 'social mobilization,' which Eisenstadt defines as the process in which, major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour.[8] Indices of social mobilization are exposure to the demonstration and diffusion effects, response to mass media, literacy rates, labour and residential structures.

Development is also characterized by social differentiation and functional specificity expressed in institutional specialization, high level technology, national integration and centralization of political authority. There is a universal tendency to growing participation of the broader strata in the central sphere of society. Eisenstadt calls this tendency mass consensual orientation.[9] Education and increased communication skills are necessary for the attainment of this orientation.

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[8] Eisenstadt S.N., Modernization: Protest and Change (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966) pp. 2-5.

[9] Ibid. pp. 15-16.

Eisenstadt acknowledges that erroneously modernization of the less developed nations has been equated to Westernization and imposition of industrialism. Colonialism introduced and grafted onto the traditional social systems a small elitist modernizing sector. This resulted in the uneven impact of modernism on the pre-capitalist patterns leading to malintegration of society. Discontent and demands for self-determination led to political activity and the need to redefine the basic internal value-orientations.

After political independence is won emphasis is placed on overall modernization. The developing countries however, have a low institutional capacity of absorbing changes as a result of the inherited malintegrated system, and thus their development is inhibited. Political modernization and the expansion of the education system tends to be faster than economic development resulting in imbalanced growth. This imbalance is manifest in the over-production of school and college graduates who cannot find jobs while at the same time there exists a preponderance of subsistence farmers deprived of economic and technological development and leadership. Conflicts, strains and political protest result from this discrepancy between the strong emphasis on change and the relative weakness of the institutional framework to absorb changes.

Eisenstadt counsels the emerging nations to pursue realistic and consistent policies of continuous economic development. Dependence on the former colonial power is to be weakened and a recrystallization within the traditional framework should be pursued. Education

and political transformation in the form of fundamental democratization of the decision making process are strategies suggested by Eisenstadt for successful implementation of authentic development policies in emerging countries.

3.3 Sociological Dualism

This approach emphasizes the heterogeneous, dual and pluralistic nature of the less developed societies. These societies are characterized by the presence of the traditional sector competing against the small, modern and capitalist economic sector.

Two main view in this approach can be observed, one represented in this study by J.H. Boeke[10] and the other by B. Higgins.[11] Boeke stresses the clash between the value systems: between the indigeneous culture and values and the imported colonial value system. This clash results in a blend of precapitalist elements assuming values of modernity, a situation which leads to further strains, resistance to change and stagnation. Boeke points out that the coexistence of small enclaves of development amidst underdevelopment characterizes the pattern of development in the emerging nations. To break this type of dualism, Boeke suggests the diffusion of modern institutions in a manner more acceptable to the people.

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[10] Boeke, J.H., Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies. (New York: I.P.R. 1953)

[11] Higgins, B., Economic Development. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1959).

Higgins disagress with Boeke by rejecting the social basis of dualism. He argues that dualism has a technological and economic basis. He defines technological dualism as "the use of different production functions in the advanced and the traditional section."[12]

Productive employment opportunities are limited not because of the lack of effective demand but because of limitation on resources and technology. This limitation leads to open and disguised unemployment. Three sources of technological dualism can thus be identified, namely rural unemployment, immobility of labour and industrialization.

There is an abundance of labour supply in the rural sector because of the shortage of land resulting from population increase. Since the modern sector is small and is growing at a relatively slow pace, disguised unemployment or structural technical unemployment results. In rural areas, this is seen in the form of labour-intensive agriculture. Industrialization itself causes dualism when it is accompanied by rapid urbanization and higher population growth rates disproportionate to economic growth.

4. Historical-Evolutionary Approach

Karl Marx and W.W. Rostow have been selected to represent this approach because of the great influence of their works on social and economic theory. Both Marx and Rostow were not primarily concerned with the study of underdevelopment per se, rather they were

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[12]Higgins, Benjamin, 'The Dualistic Theory of Underdeveloped Areas' Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. IV, No. 2.

interested in explaining the dynamics of society at a macro-level and in providing a paradigm of the evolution of society.

Both Marx and Rostow envisaged the development of society along a unilineal path of specific determined stages which they considered natural and hence inevitable.

4.1 Dialectical Materialism

Two major concepts underlie the Marxist method of social analysis:

(a) the economic interpretation of history and

(b) the dialectical nature of social phenomena expressed in terms of the class struggle and inevitable revolution by the proletariat.

History of development is shaped by economic forces, namely by the mode of production. The mode of production refers to the organization of labour, the control of the environment and natural resources and the level of technology.[13] Changes in the mode of production result from changes in the material forces of production and the relations of production. The relations of production determine the economic basis of society thus shaping the social structure and its super-structure.

The dialectical thesis of development takes on the Hagelian logic of affirmation (thesis) negation (antithesis) and synthesis. Social change is seen as a history of contradiction and struggle

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[13] Bober, M.M., Karl Marx's Interpretation of History. 2nd ed.; (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P. 1948) p. 24.

between exploiters and the exploited. The dialectical concept is basically a conflict theory of change. Dialectical materialism is a method of analyzing social reality using a historical materialistic perspective while attempting to identify the crises and conflicts involved in the process of social transformation. Using this model and philosophy of analysis, Marx identifies eight stages of socio-economic transformation, namely[14]

(a) Primitive communalism

(b) The Asiatic Society

(c) The Ancient City

(d) The German Society of the Middle Ages

(e) The Feudal Society

(f) The Bourgeois Capitalist Society

(g) Socialism

(h) Communism

The transition from one stage to another is marked by conflict and crises. Marx considers capitalism as the highest stage of the class struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors. Capitalist society is bound to destroy itself because it does not allow for a synthesis between the proletariats and the bourgeois. Thus the revolution by the proletariat is inevitable and will eventually lead to the establishment of a socialist society based on equality and the communal ownership of all the means of production. In the final

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[14]Marx, Karl, Capital, The Communist Manifesto and Other Writings. [Max Eastman ed.] (New York: The Modern Library 1932).

analysis when all conflicts and antagonisms have been eliminated a communist classless society would come into being.

4.2 Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth

Professor Rostow, conceives the process of development as the movement of society through various economic stages. He is particularly interested in developing a theoretical model of economic development. Unlike Marx, Rostow regards capitalism as the highest stage of social evolution. The productive forces are not self-determinative, for the social environment determines their evolution and not the reverse. Rostow plays down the role of ownership relations and instead concentrates on the investigation of changes in attitudes, institutions, and economic propensities of society. On this basis and using quantitative indicators of industrialism Rostow distinguishes five stages of economic development, namely:

(a) Traditional Society

(b) Preconditions for take-off

(c) The Take-off

(d) The Drive to Maturity

(e) High Mass-Consumption.

The "take-off" however, is considered to be the most crucial stage in economic development. The actual take-off is brought about by a sharp stimulus which triggers a rapid expansion of small groups of leading sectors in the economy followed by a 5% to 10% GNP increase in investment as well as an increase in real output per capita.

Rostow goes on to classify the emerging nations with reference to the take-off and distinguishes four types of economies:

(a) Pre take-off economies whose rates of growth are under 5%

(b) Economies attempting take-off whose growth rates are over 5%

(c) Growing economies whose growth rates are over 10%.

(d) Enclave economies whose growth rates are 10% but the domestic preconditions are not yet ripe.

Underdevelopment is treated as an original primitive state, one of the early transitional stages of the normal evolution from the original primitive state toward maturity. The underdeveloped nations have simply fallen behind the advanced nations. The developed nations broke the vicious circle of poverty by entering the take-off stage. Likewise the underdeveloped nations can achieve sustained growth by speeding up the capital formation process and by raising effective local demand. Rostow suggests that foreign aid in the form of foreign investment and loans can help to bring about this change.

5. The Centre-Periphery Thesis

Included in this approach are the neo-Marxist theorists and those theorists stressing the harmful effects of international trade to the underdeveloped economies. The leading protagonists are Andre Gunder Frank, Tamas Szentes, Gunner Mydral, Raul Prebisch, Arthur Lewis and Hans Singer.

Underdevelopment is seen as a result of capitalist expansion in the form of colonialism and neo-colonialism. In its quest for external markets to accommodate its 'over-production' as well as its

search for cheap sources of raw materials, the capitalist system acquired colonies and formed international monopolies and oligopolies. It thus imposed a capitalistic division of labour on the world economy. The development of the capitalist societies and the underdevelopment of the colonized and/or economically subdued societies from this point in history can be explained as a function of imperialistic expansion.

These theories suggest that the fast economic and technological growth rate in the capitalist societies resulted from the capital and income expatriation from the colonies and the satellite economies to the colonizing powers. Hans Singer distinguishes five ways by which foreign investment has gained from investing in the underdeveloped countries[15]

(a) The metropole countries have gained in creating high productivity occupations activating further the export of manufactures.

(b) Internal economies of expanded manufacturing industries are reaped by the investing countries.

(c) The metropole countries enjoy a general dynamic impulse resulting from industrial growth.

(d) These countries also reap fruits of technical progress in primary production.

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[15]Singer Hans, International Development: Growth and Change (Toronto: McGraw Hill 1964).

(e) Domestic industries benefit from contributions from foreign consumers of manufactured goods.

Two sets of factors have developed as a result of this capitalist expansion into the emerging nations, the external factors bound up with the problems of international trade, the international market forces and the internal factors associated with the structure of the socio-economic system.

Colonialism superimposed upon the precapitalist structures a colonial economy which was geared to serve the interest of the economy of the colonizing country. Thus the plantation and cash crop economies were introduced in the colonies mainly to meet the metropole's need for cheap raw materials. The resulting plantation system and the mono-cultural cash economy however, do not offer a stable base for further independent economic development in the underdeveloped countries. The net results have been, among others, dependence on the vagaries of international market forces, faster urbanization without corresponding economic growth, seasonal unemployment, labour migration and a consequent underdevelopment of agriculture.

The inherited socio-economic structures are not harmoniously related to each other and reflect foreign interests and dependence on foreign capital. This dependence has placed the economies of the emerging nations on the periphery of the world economic system, being assigned the function of producing the foodstuffs and raw materials for the capitalist centres. According to this approach, this over-specialization cancels their comparative advantage in international

trade. These inherited imbalances and arrangements are reflected in the contradictions in the values, attitudes, social organization, the retarded infrastructure and in educational policy. The interaction of these forces tend to accentuate the further disintegration and underdevelopment of the economy.

Development efforts in underdeveloped nations need to take cognizance of these internal forces and mount efforts to break them down. The uneven impact of western influence usually manifests itself in the demonstration effect of conspicuous consumption, people spend more than they earn. This leads to the further inflation of demand for imported industrial goods, followed by new demands for wage increases. These demands can be met only through increasing the production of raw materials for export. The international market is soon flooded with raw materials from the LDC's leading to a drop in prices of the primary commodities while at the same time since the demand for manufactured goods is high, a rise in the prices of the later commodities follows. This trend leads to balance of payments problems, trade deficits and foreign indebtedness.

The metropole-satellite relationship, which develops whereby the underdeveloped economy is directed to meet the needs and interests of the metropolitan capitalist centres, must, according to this theory, be severed. The developing countries should attempt to diversify their economies and develop interregional trade among themselves. Further breakdown in the internal monopolistic position of foreign capital is needed. This calls for state intervention in the form of state control

and state ownership of the basic industries, business and critical productive forces in the country.

B: THE NATURE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA: TANZANIA'S CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Application of Theories

Tanzania's philosophy and strategy of development based on the principles of Socialism (Ujamaa) and self-reliance rejects any monolithic explanation of development.

Explanations of underdevelopment based solely on economic factors, however important and useful these may be, must be rejected on the grounds that a heavy dependence on economic factors and mainly capital will tend to perpetuate the dependence relationship between the underdeveloped nations and the industrialized ones. Because of the plantation economy inherited from the colonial system of production, underdeveloped countries have depended on the industrial capitalist nations to provide the capital in the form of foreign aid. To stress economic factors without radically changing the structure and orientation of the economy would not solve the problem of underdevelopment; it would only serve to further the underdevelopment of the emerging nations and make them more vulnerable to exploitation by the economically powerful nations.

Tanzania has opted for the 'cruel choice' of basing its socio-economic development on its human resources and asserts that development can only be brought about by the people themselves. The people must be willing to apply themselves intelligently to hard work and utilize their country's natural resources to the full.

Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance, i.e. 'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea' has been amply explained in four policy papers issued by TANU, namely the Arusha Declaration, Education for Self-reliance Socialism and Rural Development and Freedom and Development. The Arusha Declaration is the most important and basic document containing the Party's declared intent to follow a socialist and self-reliant path to development. The Declaration explains in operational terms the concepts of 'Ujamaa' and self-reliance in the process of national development. This policy calls for a socialist organization of production, the equitable distribution of incomes and stresses the deployment of the local human and natural resources as a basis of development. The spirit of Ujamaa has its origin in the traditional African extended family. Embodied in this spirit are the three principles of

(a) human equality

(b) co-operative endeavour marked with an absence of exploitation of man by man

(c) and communal ownership of the basic means of production.

An egalitarian society based on respect, mutual obligations and work for all, forms the basic aim of the policy of Ujamaa.

The historical-evolutionary explanation of the process of development with its stress on predetermined stages of growth in a unilineal monolithic process must also be rejected. For Tanzania's philosophy of development attaches great importance on the ability of man to shape his own destiny. Although conflicts and competition for

survival have marked the development of societies and have contributed greatly to the underdevelopment of emerging nations, Tanzania rejects the principles of doctrinaire socialism and capitalism as the bases for human development. The Ujamaa spirit stresses the principles of equality, human dignity and cooperation rather than those of antagonism and competition.

The explanation of the process of development in terms of the social structure being increasingly characterized by one set of pattern variables as against another is partially inapplicable in the Tanzanian situation. It is true that the precapitalist cultures have come into conflict with the imported capitalist values resulting into a new social and economic structure which inhibits sustained growth. However, the principles of Ujamaa (socialism) and self-reliance are not incompatible with the precapitalist values of the extended family. It is only the distorted capitalistic and outward oriented socio-economic structure which is incompatible with the precapitalist values and the new principles of development pursued by Tanzania. It is for this reason that Tanzania has embarked on the policy of re-educating the people for co-operative living in the Ujamaa Villiages which are intended to be viable socio-economic units run on a multi-purpose co-operative basis.

Psychologism is like-wise rejected because it stresses individual motivation and economic rewards at the expense of group motivation and other forms of reinforcement. Tanzania's principles of development stress co-operation and group motivation. However,

theories under this category may provide useful insights in the examination of the role of beliefs and attitudes in the process of national development.

The centre-periphery thesis perhaps offers the closest explanation of development and underdevelopment in Tanzania. Using this approach two cateogries of factors accounting for underdevelopment can be identified namely the internal and external factors.

2. The External Factors

The history of Tanzania shows that between 700 A.D. and 1961 A.D. the country was dominated by imperialistic expansion both from the Oman Arabs and European capitalist capitalists. The socio-economic structures that were created in the country reflected the need of the imperial powers for raw materials. Thus, Tanzania specialized in the production of sisal, cloves, cotton and coffee for export. This 'plantation' external market-oriented economy placed Tanzania under the mercy of the vagaries of the international market. The fact that this type of plantation economy was geared to meeting the needs of the external market rather than local needs has resulted into the underdevelopment of the internal market and low level of effective demand. It also led in the past for the administration to concentrate on urban development at the expense of improving living conditions in the rural areas.

At Independence 1961, Tanzania inherited such a plantation economy heavily dependent on the export of sisal, cotton and coffee

which together at that time accounted for 53% of the total value of exports - with sisal alone accounting for 28% of the total value of exports. When the world market price on sisal dropped sharply between 1962 and 1967 Tanzania paid heavily for this dependence on sisal. A number of projects had to be abandoned and several sisal estates were closed down or converted to other types of farming. Table 4 shows the comparative figures of Tanzania's exports and imports for the years 1962 and 1971 and indicates how dependent the country was on the export of primary commodities in 1962. In 1962 cloves, cashew nuts, sisal, cotton and coffee alone accounted for 61% of Tanzania's exports but by 1971 these figures had dropped to 47%.

The terms of trade on primary products on the international market are comparatively less favourable than those of the manufactured goods and Tanzania has suffered income losses because of this discrepancy. Capital formation has been very difficult because of the nature of the plantation economy which tends to perpetuate income losses and profit repatriation. Because of this capital shortage in the country, Tanzania had been forced to seek loans and foreign aid arrangements from the developed countries. This foreign aid however, had 'strings' and conditions attached to it which Tanzania found unacceptable. These conditions and strings ranged from political control, trade restrictions and guarantees for 'free operation' of the foreign investors in the country. Free operation invariably meant the freedom to expatriate profits and to exploit the economy primarily for the benefit of the investing firm. This dependence on foreign

capital retarded development in two ways; in the first place, if the Tanzania Government did not accept the conditions laid down for the particular aid the country's development projects would come to a halt. This in fact was experienced between 1964 and 1965 when West Germany and Great Britain withdrew their aid on the issues of representation of the two Germany's in Tanzania and on Rhodesia respectively.[16] An airforce training project which was being undertaken by West Germany was one of those affected. A £ 7 m. loan from Britain was also frozen. Secondly those firms and commercial businesses which operated in the country had secured the right to export capital and profits to their countries of origin: in this case a perpetual state of capital shortage existed in spite of the amount of foreign aid received.

3. The Internal Factors

At Independence, Tanzania inherited from the colonial state a dual socio-economic structure in the sense that a large precapitalist sector co-existed with a small capitalist modernizing sector. The nature of this dualism was reflected in a marked change in the

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[16] When Tanganyika and Zanzibar united in 1964 the East Germany embassy in Zanzibar was closed down and converted to the status of a consulate only. West Germany insisted on a complete disbanding of the East Germany consulate. Tanzania rejected this proposal and regarded it as an unfriendly imperialistic attitude and asked the West Germans to leave and withdraw all their aid. Tanzania, following a resolution passed by the Organization of African Unity on Majority in Rhodesis broke diplomatic relations with Britain when the latter did not take adequate steps to stop White Minority Rule in Rhodesia.

attitudes, values and desires of the population within the subsistence economy. These changes were considerably influenced by the styles of life by the elite in the modernizing sector, however these changes were not accompanied by corresponding changes in the productive forces. Hence, a discrepancy and an imbalance began to form, for the new patterns of consumption could not be met.

Likewise in the small modernizing sector, especially in the civil service and business, precapitalist attitudes and beliefs came into collision with the capitalist ethos of competition and bureaucratic efficiency.

Traditional society was segmentary and operated mainly through the extended family and the tribe. At the extended family level people lived together in the spirit of Ujamaa. This spirit of extended familyhood also stressed the respect for tradition and elders; conformity and service to the group were considered to be the highest values in society. Stratification on the basis of class distinctions was non-existent among the Tanzanian tribal societies although most of them had a well defined prestige and status group system. In order to maintain social control as well as to assume the survival of the tribe, traditional society also resorted to witchcraft and superstition. Given the level of technology in the subsistence economy and the dangers and risks posed by the vagaries of the weather as well as the prevalent tropical diseases and pests, this type of social organization with its adjustive mechanisms it developed, was functional to its own existence.

The introduction of the cash economy in the form of the plantation system disrupted this social structure that held together the subsistence economy in traditional society. In the first place the method and process of colonization accounts for much of the underdevelopment of Tanzania. The slave trade must have reduced the population of able bodied persons in the villages quite considerably. Furthermore when the plantation system was introduced and the system of indentured labour substituted for slavery the effect was a continued depopulation of the rural areas of their able bodied young men. The result of this was in the drop in productivity of the subsistence sector leading to periodic famines.

The Indentured-labour system eventually led to the phenomenon known as labour migration. Labourers were identured mostly from areas which were considered unsuitable for cash crop raising and were sent to work in the sisal plantations. The labourers were forced to work for a contract period of six months after which they could go back to see their families. As most of these people who were indentured were either marginal people or young men who sought adventure, they often went back to their work in the plantations and from there again returned to see their families. This oscillation between town, plantation and the villages is known as labour migration. Labour migration underdeveloped the subsistence economy because it removed from the villages able bodied young men who could be used in improving agricultural production. It may be argued that this loss was compensated by the fact that when the labourers went back to their homes they brought with

them cash and useful skills and experience. However this argument does not hold, for more often the cash and skills brought back to the villagers were negligible. For in the first place the labourers were paid 'subsistence' wages which did not permit for meaningful savings; quite often when the labourers returned home they only brought with them petty personal belongings such as stockings and sun glasses, bought to satisfy their new tastes which they had developed outside the traditional sector. As for skills, plantation or mining technology was irrelevant to the improvement of the subsistence economy. As most of these people had learned how to consume more than they could now earn in the villages: the demonstration effect to conspicuous consumption added to the traditional custom or ritual consumption and feasting led in most cases to total consumption of whatever had been saved. But in a colonial situation these new values, which were acquired, resulted in an increased propensity to spend, which was regarded as 'development' since it produced further demand for imported goods from the metropole.

In the pastoral and semi-pastoral economies the colonial administration even attempted at forcing the people to destock their livestock so that they could afford to build themselves European type of houses.

In areas where the soils were suitable for cash crop growing and the social structure allowed for its adoption the cash crop economy was established. The Lake regions and the highlands were thought to be particularly suitable for such cash crops as cotton, coffee and

tea. The response of a society to either cash crop raising or labour migration is a function mainly of what local opportunities were made available to the people and the social structure. If the structure of society was such that young men and other groups of people had no rights to land then these people tended to respond to labour migration. Land shortage resulting from overpopulation, as in the case of the Nyakyusa of the Southern Highlands or resulting from land alienation as in the cases of Tanga and Meru, may lead the people to resort to labour migration.

The plantation system then, as it was introduced by the colonial regime tended to underdevelop the traditional subsistence economy in two main ways. First, it streamlined the economy towards the needs of the external market thus providing very little opportunity for transforming it. Secondly, a heavy emphasis on cash crop production tended to lower the quality of food production as well as placing the economy under the mercy of the fluctuations of commodity prices on the international market.

Although the attitudes of passivity, fatalism and superstition could be explained as a reaction to the high risk element in the subsistence economy; intertribal warfare, slave trade and colonial rule are factors to be taken into account when analyzing the present dimensions of these attitudes. In any case these attitudes tend to undermine self-confidence, self-reliance and initiative and engender a state of dependence and hopelessness.

Another factor of importance was that the financial institutions of the country were geared towards supporting those in the modernizing sector. It therefore became easier for the sisal farmer or even the importer, of say, automobiles to obtain loans for further development of their business than for peasants to improve their production. The effect of this was a further distortion of the economy.

It must also be remembered that in terms of the rewards obtained in the traditional sector, the returns were lower than those in the modernizing sector. People employed in the modernizing sector whether as clerks, teachers or whatever, were comparatively well paid and could satisfy more easily their demand for new items of consumption which became desired during colonial rule. This was another factor distorting the relative growth of the traditional sector.

The modernizing sector did not only distort the traditional sector but also set the 'stage' for social stratification on class basis, a marked break away from what previously happened in Tanzanian society.

Given this situation in which Tanzania found itself at independence it would seem that the problem of underdevelopment was mainly that of the underdevelopment of the subsistence rural economy. Tanzania realizes its poverty and lack of capital to finance its development projects in these areas and also realizes that it could never achieve economic independence if the present dual structure of society is perpetuated.

In the search for economic independence Tanzania believes that the hope for the development of the LDC's lies in their unity and in

economic co-operation. For economic unity and trade among themselves are likely to disrupt the monopolistic arrangements of the international market and would give the LDC's more bargaining power as a block.

State intervention has been considered because of the need to husband capital resources which became greater as Tanzania decided not to rely on foreign capital as its major source of funds for development. The Government also saw the need to redress the imbalance between urban and rural development. For while capital funds were concentrated in the small modernizing sector the traditional sector was starved of funds partly because of the risk factor involved in traditional agriculture. This discrepancy could only be redressed through state intervention. For the state would then be directing more capital inputs in this sector than would be made available under private enterprise.

Tanzania's decision to bring about its development along socialist lines and to use the approach of self-reliance which implies maximum utilization of its own human resources has been perhaps the most significant step in its development. This decision means that the benefits of development programmes must spread to all sections of the population. For, as the previous analysis shows, development efforts benefitted mostly the small modernizing sector of the economy. The new development programmes must attempt to redress this imbalance by striving to improve the lives and living conditions of the masses. This also means that efforts to get all sections of the population in

TABLE 1

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND HUMAN RESOURCE OUTLAYS BASED ON THE 1967 CENSUS AND MID-YEAR (1971). APPROXIMATIONS (SOURCES: TANZANIA STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS, EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS AND PRESIDENTIAL DECENIAL REPORT, 1971).

Population Characteristics	1967	1971 June or Stated Otherwise
1. Total Population	12,313,469	13,000,000
2. Population by Sexes		
Male	6,005,894	
Female	6,307,575	
3. Population by Races		
African (122 Tribes)	12,146,000	
Indo-Pakistani	90,000	
Arab	25,000	
European	17,000	
Others	4,000	
4. By Residence (Geographic Distribution		
Urban (Percentage)		4%
Rural (Percentage total)		96%
Ujamaa Villages (n=2700, June 1971)		(Pop. 840,000)
Density	27.6	37.4
5. By Age		
7-14 years Primary School Age		1,866,210 (Calculated)*
Under 15 years		4,813,650
0-7 years		2,947,440
15-16 years		2,186,350
15 and above (definition of Adults for Literacy)		8,186,350

*All age figures calculated

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Population Characteristics	1967	1971 June or Stated Otherwise
6. By Literacy		
Illiterates (Sept. 1972) - Adults		5,170,000 (1972)
Literate Adults (i.e., 15 years and above)		3,016,350
Adults not in Schools		2,400,000
Students over 15 years		117,012
Teachers and Professors		25,086
Others		474,252
7. By Occupation		
Total Wage Earners		500,000
Non-Agricultural Employment		3.5%
Teachers Total		25,086
Primary School Teachers (all citizens 1972)		22,100
Secondary School Teachers (1,477 Tanzanian 1972)		1,970
Tutors in Teacher Colleges (20 Expatriate 1973)		450
University Lecturers (30% Tanzanians 1972)		316
Teachers in Specialized Education		250
Doctors Total		589
Tanzanian Doctors (June 1971)		122
8. By School Enrollments		
Primary Level (52% Places) Total		933,105
Grade I (Entering)		190,091
Grade VII (Completing)		70,000
Secondary Level (13% Places) Total		31,662
Form I		7,570
Form IV		7,044
Form VI		1,488
Third Level and Specialized Training		14,350
University Level (1.2% Places)		3,375
Teacher Training		4,475
Vocational & Specialized Training		6,500

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Population Characteristics	1967	1971 June or Stated Otherwise
9. Population Growth Rate		
Crude Birth Rate		4.7%
Crude Death Rate		2.2%
Natural Increase		2.5%
Infant Mortality		16%-16.5%
Life Expectancy at Birth		41 years
Fertility Rate		-
Maternal Mortality Rate		-
Annual Rate of Increase		2.8%
10. Economic Growth Rate		
GNP Per Capita		
Gross-Domestic Product (1 Tanz. sh. = U.S. 14¢		Shs(T) 7817 mi**
Growth Rate		4.5%-5%
**1968		

*Sources: Tanzania Statistical Abstracts, Educational Statistics and Presidential Decenial Report, 1971.

the development programmes are to be mobilized. This can partly be done through education.

4. The Logic of Rural Development in Tanzania

An examination of Table 1 shows that 96% of Tanzania's population still lived in rural areas mostly as subsistence farmers producing only 50% of the total GNP in 1970. It would thus appear to be a logical step for development efforts to start with the improvement of life in the rural areas. Moreover, if 96% of the population produces only 50% of the total GNP this shows an underutilization of resources in this sector.

At Independence the country inherited an economy almost solely based on primary production of which 30% was produced by subsistence farmers as table 2 shows. In 1961/62 primary production accounted for 60% of the country's GNP while reference to table 4 shows that sisal, cotton and coffee alone accounted for 53% of the total value of exports. In 1970 agricultural products as a whole accounted for 80% of the country's total exports valued at shs. 1689 million. This shows that economic development in Tanzania has depended and in the foreseeable future will continue to depend on the improvement of agricultural production. This would mean the improvement in skills, technology, productivity and life style of the subsistence farmers: hence rural development is the key to further development of Tanzania.

Tanzania has chosen an integrated approach to improve its rural economy. This integrated approach would therefore involve

TABLE 2

THE ECONOMY

	1961/62	1965	1966	1964	1968	1969	1970
(a) Income in Mill. shs (T)							
NI(A)	-	5744	6541	6890	7403	7866	8609
GNP(B)	-	6140	7046	7400	7897	8365	9153
(b) Structure							
Primary Sector	60%	-	-	-	-	-	50%
Secondary Sector	13%	-	-	-	-	-	
Tertiary Sector	27%	-	-	-	-	-	30%
(c) Income Per Capita in Shs (T) 1 Sh (T) = U.S. $.14	490	-	-	-	-	-	670
(d) Subsistence Sector	-	-	-	30%	-	-	-
(e) Economic Growth Rate	-	-	-	-	-	4.5-5%	-
(f) Exports Total	973 m. sh. (T)	-	-	-	-		1689 m. sh. (T)
Agriculture							80%

TABLE 2 (Continued)

	1961/62	1965	1966	1964	1968	1969	1970
(g) Imports Total	794 m. shs.	-	-	-	-	-	1939 m. shs.
Consumer	45%	-	-	-	-	-	9%
Intermediate	-	-	-	-	-	-	300%
Capital	31%	-	-	-	-	-	53%
(h) Rec. Expenditure Total	494 m. shs.	-	-	-	-	-	1634 m. shs.
Education	58 m. sh.	-	-	-	-	-	370 m. sh.

Sources: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning - Development Plans covering period between 1961-1970.

(a) the diversification of agricultural production aimed at increasing food supply to meet the local nutrition demand of the country and increased production of the key cash crops;

(b) the establishment of small scale industries in the rural areas, and at the national level to establish vital import-substitution industries so as to cut down expenditure on imports on consumer goods and maximize exports of processed goods;

(c) the improvement of the internal market to stimulate local demand for the country's products and break its dependence;

(d) the search for new markets so as to break the country's dependence on few markets which can threaten its political and economic independence, and also to prevent the country from being tied to monopolistic arrangements of the foreign trade.

President Nyerere also, in his report to the 1971 TANU Conference[17] stresses the need to diversify the rural economy, improve the economic and social infrastructure so as to achieve balanced development in the rural areas.

Development of the rural areas in Tanzania means primarily the transformation of the quality of subsistence living into levels of

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[17] Julius K. Nyerere, Tanzania Ten Years After Independence, (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1971) pp. 37-43.

TABLE 3

CROP HUSBANDRY SUMMARY MARKET QUANTITIES - '000 TONS

Cash Crops	1970-62	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Growth Rate 1970/71 (%)
Sisal	205.6	221.5	216.6	193.8	206.0	202.0	181.1	-10.4
Cotton	34.0	77.6	69.7	50.7	69.6	76.4	66.0	-13.6
Coffee	24.0	51.0	39.5	50.7	45.4	49.7	45.8	- 7.8
Cashew-nuts	45.8	87.0	75.3	115.2	122.9	111.0	126.3	13.8
Sugar	32.2	69.9	70.6	81.1	92.0	87.3	95.8	9.8
Tea	4.1	6.7	7.0	7.8	8.5	8.5	10.5	23.1
Tobacco-Flue	-	3.5	4.5	5.0	8.0	11.0	11.9	8.2
Tobacco-Fire	2.2	1.5	3.1	2.1	3.5	11.0	11.9	8.2
Pyrethrum	1.7	4.4	6.6	4.7	3.7	2.3	3.7	58.1
Wheat	11.5	32.8	28.6	23.8	29.4	N/A	N/A	-

Sources: CUSO information for Volunteers, Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1973.

TABLE 4

TANZANIA'S EXPORT AND IMPORTS

	Exports			Imports	
	1962	1971		1962	1971
Total (in Mill. Shs.)	1,141	1,972	Total (in Mill. Shs.)	1,127	2,688
Cloves	4%	10%	Transport Equipment	9%	8%
Cashewnuts	4%	7%	Capital Goods	26%	22%
Diamonds	9%	11%	Consumer Goods	48%	27%
Sisal	28%	7%	Intermediate Goods	17%	43%
Cotton	13%	11%			
Coffee	12%	12%			
Others	30%	42%			

Sources: CUSO information for Volunteers, Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1973.

living more acceptable and more human than the previous ones. In addition to changing the type of agricultural production the country's efforts would also need to be directed towards the improvement of health, education and the provision of water and other essential services to the rural areas.

Rural development means the development of the lives of the masses; it involves the enhancement of the people's freedom from want, disease, ignorance and exploitation. It calls for an improvement in the people's power to act and participate fully and freely in their own development. As President Njerere puts it, the development of the people means helping them to "understand both their own needs and the things which they can do to satisfy these needs."[18]

It would appear that for the successful implementation of rural development measures would partly depend on satisfying certain conditions namely the people's awareness, their level of motivation and their willingness to apply effort, the quality of skills and productivity of rural work force and the people's ability to utilize their natural resources and natural environment.

There is also the need to change the attitudes inculcated in the population by the colonial regime in which the Government was looked upon as the main initiator of change.

These conditions require a great amount of educational inputs especially in the adult population which is directly involved in the

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[18] Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Development (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1968) p. 3.

TABLE 5

A SUMMARY OF THE 1970/71 ESTIMATES
OF RECURRENT EXPENDITURES

	Million Shs.	Per cent
Consolidated Fund Services	227.2	13.7
National Education	283.9	17.2
Home Affairs	126.9	7.7
Communications, Transport & Labor	155.0	9.7
Agriculture, Food & Cooperatives	154.6	9.7
Health & Social Welfare	118.3	7.1
Defence & National Service	93.9	5.7
Regional Administration & Rural Development	56.8	3.4
Lands, Housing & Urban Development	35.3	2.1
Foreign Affairs	23.5	1.4
Commerce & Industries	10.0	0.5
Information & Tourism	15.8	0.9
Other Ministries and Special Offices	346.3	20.9
TOTAL	1,647.5	100.0

N.B. Estimate Development Expenditure for the fiscal year 1969/70 was Shs. 676 million.

Sources: Ministry of Information, Tanzania Who-Where What, Dar es Salaam. Printpak Tanzania Ltd. 1971.

productive process. In chapter three the Ujamaa Villages policy, Tanzania's major rural development strategy, will be analyzed focussing on the demands it places on education and particularly adult education.

CHAPTER THREE

TANZANIA'S MAIN STRATEGY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE POLICY OF UJAMAA VILLAGES

1. The Historical Background

The history of rural development as a deliberate policy in Tanzania goes back to the Ten Year Development Plan which covered the period from 1947 to 1956. The colonial administration, in an attempt to improve the productivity of the subsistence sector adopted what has come to be known as the improvement approach. This strategy sought to transform the subsistence economy by progressively improving on the traditional methods of crop and animal husbandry so as to induce an increase in productivity without necessarily bringing about any radical changes in the traditional system. This meant the step by step introduction of technology and organizational structure so as to allow for adjustment. Intermediate technology such as the use of ox-plough and other animal-drawn implements were introduced. It was hoped that this type of technology would not disrupt the production relations and the social structure then characteristic of the traditional society, while at the same time preparing the ground for mechanization of agriculture.

Extension work in agriculture and community development supported this programme, while the upper grades of the Primary School known as the Middle School (grades 5-8) since 1952, were to prepare

the children in the skills required for rural transformation. The extension activities in fact, were merely the enforcement of regulations and measures for soil conservation and included the compulsory manuring of farms, cattle dipping and innoculation destocking, terracing and tie-riding. These measures soon became very unpopular with the peasants because of the ferocity and 'zeal' with which they were pursued by the colonial administrators. Moreover, the lack of preparation of the people so that they could appreciate the importance of these measures led to passivity and lack of support for these measures, from the peasants.

Poor communications, feedback and follow-up work in the rural areas made it difficult for extension workers to be effective. The weakness of this approach lay also in the assumption that the small scale segmentary peasant holdings based on individual ownership would eventually form the backbone of effective agrarian reform. Because of the lack of capital and the scattered nature of the village settlements it was impossible to organize, coordinate and 'service' this type of development.

The lack of an ideology to guide and legitimize these measures also constituted a barrier to full participation of the peasants in a voluntary manner. Without commitment to a cause the peasants did not see the need to change, hence the colonial administration had to use coercion. The scheme was viewed as a foreign imposition, a form of oppression.

The Middle School experiment also failed because it did not come in the first place from the people's desire for this type of education. The colonial administration had, before this, developed a pyramidal elitist system of education which encouraged aspirations for white collar jobs. Education, although was a scarce commodity, had began to be looked upon as the venue to success and a sure means of escape from the drudgery of rural subsistence life. The curriculum's shift from academic subjects to agriculture, carpentry, metal work and the rural crafts was considered as a deliberate attempt to keep the Africans down. Moreover the Middle School concept assumed that graduates of this programme would be able to transform the quality of life in the rural areas. The traditional structure however did not allow this, for younger people who had not started their own families had no rights to land or property and in effect had very little say in the conduct of the village's activities.

After the attainment of responsible government in 1961 a Three Year Development Plan was launched whose emphasis was on a rapid transformation of the rural areas so as to prepare the ground for industrialization. This strategy known as the transformation approach to rural development was recommended to the elected government by a World Bank Economic mission which had been invited to make an economic survey of the country in 1960.

The transformation approach aimed at the radical transformation of the rural economy through the concentration of investment capital and technical manpower on groups of farmers settled on more

fertile lands. This aim sought to correct the errors of the improvement approach, by taking advantage of economies of scale and organization so as to overcome the problem of capital shortage and scattered settlement patterns. Intermediate technology was also seen as a slow process so mechanization in the form of the tractor was recommended so as to guarantee intensive and permanent cultivation. To counteract the fragmentary holdings in the traditional sector as well as guarantee efficiency in the planning coordination as well as in the provision of services: it was proposed that the farmers should be removed from the traditional ties and grouped together into big settlement schemes. This proposal assumed that certain inhibiting practices and beliefs had contributed to the failure of the improvement approach and that isolation from them would guarantee success. The purpose of grouping was also to allow for the economic allocation of administrative and managerial staff and the provision of rations and loans.

This attempt at rural transformation like the improvement approach failed to realize its objectives. For it neither led to increased productivity nor did it guarantee the growth of a prosperous rural entrepreneurial class as had been anticipated by the planners. The experience, which included experiments on large scale agricultural production such as 'block farms' and 'settlement schemes' nevertheless provided important lessons for future plans in rural development.

In the first place, it became clear that too much 'spoon feeding' and direction of the settlers by the government killed the spirit of initiative and self reliance. For this practice tended to reduce

the settlers into mere labourers on state farms. Secondly, it was also discovered that effective policy implementation was almost impossible if the target population was to be involved in all stages of planning and executing the project. Both the 'improvement' and the 'transformation' approaches lacked effective mobilization of the rural population. They also lacked an ideology and clearcut policies spelling out the direction of development. Thirdly, most of the people recruited to go to settle in these settlement schemes were the urban unemployed who had very little experience and still less interest in farming. Lastly, the introduction of mechanization without sufficient preparation of the people to adapt to the new production techniques and the changed conditions created strains leading to wastages and rural indebtedness.

The failure of these attempts and the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the First Five-Year Development Plan discredited this form of elitist development planning. It became known that there was a need to devise a rural development policy that would have the full support of the people from the grass roots level; a policy that would involve all the people into meaningful participation in planning and implementing their own development. The difficulties encountered in raising capital for development projects during the First Five-Year Plan also indicated clearly the dangers of depending on foreign capital for the country's development.

After the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Tanzania adopted the policy of Ujamaa Villages as a main strategy for rural transformation.

This policy was supposed to be an answer to the deficiencies in the previous rural development strategies. The Ujamaa Villages policy seeks to elicit understanding, commitment and participation from the peasants themselves. The new view was that the desire for change should originate from the peasants themselves. In the second place, the Ujamaa Villages strategy is a step by step transformation, but then the steps of development are not defined by the government; for it is the villagers themselves who decide what methods and steps are appropriate at a particular stage of their development. The problems of capital shortage and 'spoon' feeding are being tackled through the emphasis placed on self-reliance and co-operation. For it was previously discovered that individual efforts would not bring rural transformation given capital shortage and the scattered pattern of village settlements. Thus, two major elements in this strategy can be identified, namely the spirit of equality and co-operation and the principle of self-reliance. Both these elements call for changes in attitudes and reorientation of beliefs and values; hence the need for ideological commitment to the spirit of Ujamaa.

The need for preparing the people and persuading them to commit themselves to the principles of Ujamaa living has been answered by TANU and the Government by mounting massive political campaigns ever since 1967 to mobilize the people. The campaigns have been in the form of mass rallies, special programmes on the radio, feature articles in the newspapers and journals, discussion groups and leadership training. Various leadership courses have been conducted in the villages

and the rural training centres so as to equip the people with the necessary leadership skills needed in socialist and democratic development. The Arusha Declaration sets out qualifications which have to be fulfilled by all in leadership positions, in politics and the public service of which leadership by example and persuasion are very relevant to the Ujamaa Villages strategy.

The political and other institutions are also undergoing transformation so as to allow for the effective operation of the socialist principles. The decentralization plan[1] enacted in July 1972 seeks to give more powers to the people from the grass roots level in the villages in matters related to development planning, decision making and plan implementation. Each region, district, ward, and village has been granted some measure of autonomy in planning and implementing its own development projects. Development teams councils, and committees have been instituted as organs for formulating development policy and projects at each of the above named levels. Since the Government attaches great importance to rural development and regards rural transformation as the key to the development of the whole national economy, it has appointed high level and skilled manpower to work in the regions and districts. It is hoped that this move will facilitate the formulation and implementation of rational development projects in the regions, districts and villages.

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[1] United Republic of Tanzania, The Decentralization of Government Administration Act (Dar es Salaam: National Assembly July 1962).

The whole decentralization scheme is supervised and coordinated through the office of the Prime Minister which also now controls the Agriculture, Co-operatives and Ujamaa Villages sections of the Government. This step has been taken to ensure maximum attention as well as the integrated development of these sectors in the regions.

Another recent development aimed at disinheriting the country from dualism and the rural-urban dichotomy in the economy has been the abolition of urban administration as a distinct feature from rural administration. This has the symbolic effect of playing down the virtual dominance of metropolitan centres vis a vis their hinterlands and peripheries.

It is too early at this stage to assess the success or failure of the Ujamaa Villages strategy as compared to the previous attempts at rural development. However, there are signs of growth in the scale of organization, and observable changes in the quality of rural life have been evidenced since the inception of the policy. The President reported to the TANU Conference meeting in Dar es Salaam in September 1971 that there were about 2,700 Ujamaa Villages with a total population of about 840,000 people.[2] By the end of 1972 there were about two million Tanzanians or 1/5th of the non wage-employed rural population living in approximately 5000 Ujamaa Villages.[3] This is almost double the number of those living in Ujamaa Villages in 1971. This

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[2]Nyerere, Ten Years After Independence, p. 41.

[3]Tanzania: Ujamaa, African Development. December 1972, pp. T.5-T.33.

doubling of the population living in Ujamaa Villages within one year can partly be attributed to the vigorous adult education campaigns launched and carried through between January 1970 and December 1971. From these initial observations it appears that the successful implementation of the Ujamaa Villages strategy depends to a large extent on the education and reorientation of the adult population.

2. The Rationale of the Ujamaa Villages' Policy as a Rural Development Strategy

2.1 The Strategy

As has been previously pointed out the Ujamaa Villages strategy is an attempt at a step by step transformation of the rural areas on the basis of voluntary and democratic participation of the peasants. The purpose is to involve the peasants in a more meaningful way to participate in their own development. This approach, unlike the improvement approach is based on the basic principles that guided the traditional extended family. This is an important difference since an ideological element is introduced which appeals to the pride and commitment of the people.

The Ujamaa Villages approach aims at providing a socialist organization of production to the rural economy. Thus, it strives to bring together the segmentary scattered kinship units and rural communities into viable multi-purpose co-operative units in which all members participate as equals in decision making, work and the distribution of incomes. The policy aims at reaping the economies of scale and organization as well as striving to enhance the freedom and

power of the people to participate fully in the transformation of their village economy.

An Ujamaa Village

> is or will become an economic, a social and political unit. Its people will not only produce their crops together so that they talk of 'our shamba' and 'our output'; they will also run their own affairs, supervise their own schools, organize the improvement in their own living conditions and become a community for all purposes.[4]

Thus the successful establishment of Ujamaa Villages hopes to solve the problems of rural underdevelopment on the basis of co-operation, self-reliance and the spirit of socialism among the villagers. The aims of rural development through Ujamaa Villages may be summarized as follows:

(a) to provide the 'spirit' and organization needed for the socialist transformation of rural life; this calls for the inculcation of the principles of Ujamaa, i.e. equality, co-operation and communal ownership, in the rural population as well as the provision of an effective organization of production and distribution;

(b) the development of a sense of direction and commitment leading to greater national integration;

(c) to offer a guarantee for effective participation by the villagers in their own development, and in the decision-making process;

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[4] Op. cit., Ten Years After Independence, p. 41.

(d) reliance on the local human and physical resources in the development and improvement of productivity and the standards of living for the majority;

(e) integration of agricultural development with the growth of small scale or cottage industries so as to guarantee the diversification of the rural economy;

(f) to provide vital social services to all the people;

(g) to provide an opportunity for the emergence of a skilled work force equipped to serve both the technical needs of the village economy and the industrial needs of the national economy.

2.2 The Egalitarian and Co-operative Principles of the Ujamaa Villages Policy

The principles of equality, co-operation and communal ownership are cardinal to the policy of Ujamaa and are consonant with the principles and the social structure of traditional society, at least at the level of the extended family.[5] Members of the extended family lived together in equality and respect; they co-operated at work and owned communal land, livestock and other important means of production and livelihood. However more often this type of socialism (Ujamaa), was limited by two factors, namely the inferior position of women and the small scale nature of its activities.[6] If these principles were

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[5] Julius K. Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, Swahili edition, (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1967) pp. 7-3.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

going to be the basis of a modern socialist rural economy then they needed to be extended to cover a larger group than the extended family and also to include all the people irrespective of sex, age or tribe.

The lessons from the previous attempts at rural development provide evidence that rural development on an individual basis was unworkable. In the first place, because of the scattered pattern of settlement over an expansive land, it was difficult to allocate the scarce capital resources to the individual peasants and still more difficult to co-ordinate and service the different activities. There was a felt need for pooling together of efforts and resources so as to reap economies of scale and organization. In the second place, the 'transformation' approach further demonstrated that co-operative efforts alone without the full participation of the people in planning and executing the development projects was not enough. For full participation and involvement of the people requires that the people understand the implications of the policies, are committed to the cause and desire to change their way of living. A guiding spirit and motivating leadership is necessary in order to bring about such a 'climate.'

Moreover the impact of the plantation economy on the subsistence sector had made it almost impossible for an egalitarian socio-economic transformation to take place on the basis of individual efforts. For land shortage, capital deficiency and the development of a true landless proletariat engendered by this type of economy were beginning to sow the seeds of inequality and exploitation right

into the traditional social structure.[7] Thus, it became increasingly clear to the Government and the Party that the basic problem of rural development had to depend on collective efforts if it was to be successful.. The historical and economic need for co-operation and people's involvement in their own development as well as the fact that these principles were consonant with those of the traditional social structure made the development of the Ujamaa ideology a logical step.

Another significant factor in the acceptance of the Ujamaa Village's policy as a logical development was the declared intention by the Party to follow a socialist path to development as early as 1962[8] but more specifically with the inception of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. The firm belief and committment to the spirit of Ujamaa by the leadership, especially that of President Nyerere has played an important role in convincing the Tanzanians that the Ujamaa approach might work.

2.3 The Principle of Self-reliance

Self-reliance in Tanzania's effort to improve rural life is both an economic necessity and a rational translation of the principles of equality, people's involvement and freedom.

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[7] Ibid., p. 5.

[8] President Nyerere's essay on Ujamaa, the Basis of African Socialism (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer 1962) elucidated the concept of African socialism in the context of political organization, democratic participation and the organization of production.

The country's deficiency in capital and the negative experiences with foreign aid have dictated the pursuance of a policy of self-reliance if the country is to maintain its political freedom and independent stand on international issues and at the same time achieve economic development. The 'transformation' approach with its 'spoon feeding' leanings also demonstrated that people could only develop themselves when they were actively involved in the transformation of their conditions of life depending in the first place on their own resources. For once the Government assumed the responsibility of doing things for the people the latter developed attitudes of dependence and passivity, expecting the Government to solve all their problems. The pursuance of the policy of self-reliance is a realization that the previous failures were largely due to a lack of desire for change which led to a major dependence on the Government, a dependency which the Government was not in a financial position to encourage.

In summary then, it is appropriate to suggest that the strategy of Ujamaa Villages was a rational development given the stated aims of society, historical developments and the socio-economic situation prevailing in the rural areas at the moment. For at the moment viable rural development in Tanzania seems possible only through co-operative efforts within the spirit of equality and self-reliance.

3. An Assessment of the Ujamaa Villages' Policy as a Rural Development Strategy

Despite the fact that it might be too early to assess empirically the success of the Ujamaa Villages policy, one can still attempt

at a theoretical level to examine whether the needs of rural development can be achieved through this strategy. This assessment involves the identification of the advantages, constraints and demands presented by the adoption of this policy.

3.1 Rural Development Needs

The aims and objectives of the Ujamaa Villages' Policy adequately cover the development needs of the rural areas. For what has been lacking in the rural areas is a viable organization of production, co-operation and optimum utilization of human and physical resources. Above all, awareness and motivation to change the subsistence methods of production had been lacking in the peasants. The Ujamaa Villages policy as already explained, seeks through political education to make the people aware of the problems of poverty, ill health and poor social services; as well as show them that if they worked co-operatively and intelligently they could solve these problems. The crucial factor in rural development as noted from the experiences of the transformation approach is the understanding and full participation by the peasants in the measures being introduced. It was also noted that this understanding and motivation of the people to participate needs time and efforts to prepare the people.

The step by step method of transformation being pursued may partly answer this need for preparation provided the people themselves participate in defining these steps and the pace to be taken.

Effective preparation also requires leadership. The Ujamaa Villages' policy aims at organizing the people for leadership and

production in that it strives to involve all the people in the village to participate in decision making and also attempts to provide a rational allocation of functions and incomes.

The integrated approach suggested by this strategy answers the demand for balanced growth within the rural economy as well as in the relationship between the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors of the national economy. It was noted earlier that rural underdevelopment was partly due to the outward orientation of the country's economy which resulted in the neglect of local needs and over-specialization in the export of raw materials. By diversifying rural production and introducing small scale industries in the Ujamaa Villages the strategy attempts to create more job opportunities in the rural areas thus attracting people to move and stay in the villages.

The establishment of viable economic units at the level of the village may also stimulate intervillage trade competition and co-operation. This type of interaction is made possible by the strategy's integrated approach stressing the provision of vital social services such as roads, water, schools, shops, markets and health services which enable the villagers to have contact with the 'outside world.'

3.2 The Advantages of Adopting the Ujamaa Villages Strategy

The adoption of this strategy does not call for immediate radical changes in the social structure, and does not necessarily involve physical movements of the population. There is freedom of manoeuvre; for people can start co-operative production in any way they want.

They could begin with a moderate communal farm or ranch while keeping their individual plots or herds. In some cases they need no communal farm at all, the people may decide on a system of egalitarian distribution of land or grazing grounds and then together work on the individual farms in rotation. This freedom of choice is an advantage because it allows the people initiative and the opportunity to assess the effects of their own decisions.

Another advantage to this strategy is the absence of sizeable individual assets in the rural areas. The overall poverty of the peasants does not pose serious problems connected with vested interests in opposition to equality and co-operation even though attitudes of individualism and capitalist exploitation had already started taking deep roots among the rural population.

Although these attitudes were developing among the people yet at the extended family level some elements of the principles of Ujamaa were still operative. Even at the traditional village level the people still co-operated in the cultivating, weeding and harvesting of their crops. The pastoralists grazed their herds together and co-operated in locating and maintaining water resources and grazing grounds. The Ujamaa Villages' strategy is based on the same principles that sustain the extended family and the village co-operative associations.

The Ujamaa Villages' strategy has one other factor in its favour namely the Government's and Party's policy of directing finance, social services and personnel towards rural development while at the

same time calling for self-reliance. This serves as a powerful incentive for improvement for those who show the greatest improvement and initiative can hope to get Government's attention and assistance.

3.3 The Constraints

As already noted earlier, the traditional principles of Ujamaa were deficient in regard to their coverage of persons and groups as well as to their scope of their activities. They could not be applied straight away as a basis for a modern socialist economy in the Villages. Moreover, the disruption of the traditional society by colonialism introduced elements of individualism and competition which were incompatible with the spirit of Ujamaa. The coexistence of these incompatible elements in the subsistence economy presents difficulties in the acceptance of the socialist ideology embodied in the strategy of Ujamaa Villages.

The physical dispersion of the settlements in most cases also presents problems as to how effectively co-operation and communal ownership can be arranged. In some cases this pattern of settlement is dictated by climatic conditions and the availability of water and arable plots; in others it is a result of social custom. Close proximity among the Basukuma for example, may be avoided because of fear of witchcraft.

Land consolidation and optimum utilization of resources may also be hampered by certain customs and practices. The fragmentary land tenure system tied up with ritual and ancestor worship may be difficult to break and replace with communal ownership. In most cases

land rights are very complex as they involve different rules for the different types of soils and crops cultivated. Among the people from the Rufiji basin for example, fertile lowlands seem not to be fully utilized since most of them may have been consecrated to the ancestors of the tribe. This explains why the villagers in this region may be reluctant to transfer their dwellings on higher grounds because of their desire to stay close by their ancestors, even though in doing so they risk the dangers of the frequent flooding. Other customs such as shifting cultivation, transhumance, cattle-raiding may inhibit the smooth collectivization of production.

Tribal ties and kinship loyalties may also present difficulties when people of different tribes or clans are involved. People from areas of high population density may be reluctant to move to more fertile less populated lands inhabited by a different tribe. In some cases there is the danger of these 'settler-immigrants' being labelled as foreigners and exploiters by their hosts.

Even when the Ujamaa Village is formed certain organizational constraints threaten its smooth operation. The low level of understanding of the policies and objectives of the development projects and the lack of effective motivation present problems to the principle of involving all the people to participate meaningfully in decision making and implementations of their plans. The danger posed here is that the leadership might become impatient and usurp the right and power of the people to decide and act for themselves. Among other alternatives is that the people would participate imperfectly and

could easily fall prey to local demagogy and manipulation and production could even fall below subsistence level for lack of incentives.

The present reward and social control system does not really guarantee a socialist way of production and distribution. The interaction of the traditional values and the capitalist ones, had produced a malintegrated system of social control and motivation which is unable to sustain socialist development. The sense of service to the community and collective motivation to achieve a better standard of living if it exists it is very low. The individuals need assurance that collective effort and communal ownership brings a better income than individual efforts. More often however, the first years of collective effort may actually tend to lower the cash incomes of the progressive farmers even though real income in terms of the social services and amenities provided would be higher. This apparent 'loss' of income may tend to discourage the ablest and most entrepreneurial minded farmers to join the Ujamaa Villages.

The Ujamaa Villages in fact have tried to counteract this tendency by providing for income distribution according to the amount of work done. The dilemma in this is how to balance the competitive individual motive with co-operation and equality which should pervade the Ujamaa Villages.

Advanced technology, skills and the willingness to work harder and for longer periods are more often lacking among the rural people. This is a constraint because in order to expand the scale of agricultural production rural production needs relevant skills in crop and

animal husbandry as well as more efficient methods of cultivation and storage. So far efforts are being made to introduce intermediate technology like the ox-plough, carts and the like so as to facilitate work.

Increased production in the Villages means producing food, cash crops and other commodities above the needs of the villagers. The problem at the present time is that the internal market and local demand for home made goods are not properly developed. The entrepreneurial skills needed for viable internal trade are also scanty among the villagers.

The list could be continued but it is possible to shorten it by grouping these constraints into four categories.

(a) socio-cultural constraints - involving the social structure, level of awareness, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices;

(b) political constraints - the level of understanding and commitment to the principles of Ujamaa, leadership and its effectiveness in motivating and mobilizing the people;

(c) economic constraints covering such factors as lack of capital, poor organization of the internal market and an underdeveloped infrastructure; lack of necessary skills, unequal distribution of wealth.

(d) physical and environmental constraints are those connected with relief, climate, uncertainty of rainfall, pests, floods and the like.

3.4 The Demands of the Ujamaa Villages Policy

The above discussion of the advantages, and constraints presented by the strategy of Ujamaa Villages leads us to the identification of the demands of this policy. In analysing these demands we shall use the scheme we introduced at the end of chapter two namely the four 'conditions' for development: awareness, motivation, effort and environment.

(a) Awareness: the principles of equality, co-operation, communal ownership and self reliance exist vaguely and in a distorted manner in the rural areas. Most people do not understand nor have they seen the need for them. Furthermore most villagers, if ever they have realized the poor conditions in which they live are not yet aware of the possibilities of extricating themselves from such conditions. The successful implementation of this policy demands that the people understand the policies and the principles involved in the transformation of their living conditions. This calls for preparation of the people through education, persuasion and example.

The policy demands of the people to recognize by themselves which attitudes, practices, social institutions, skills and values are functional or dysfunctional to stated goals of development. Ujamaa Villages call for a radical awareness of the situation so that the people appreciate the task involved and the resources they have at hand.

(b) Motivation; people may be aware, and may understand the policies and yet remain unmotivated. It is indeed more likely to be so in a policy like this one which appeals to a different type of motivation. The policy demands for a conviction in the principles of Ujamaa and also a readiness to sacrifice certain measures of individual autonomy. In this case more than ordinary motivation is required; it is belief and commitment which is required. The question of motivation is tied up with values and beliefs which are ingrained through the process of socialization and reinforced by socio-political mobilization.

The principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance demand that the people themselves desire to be equal, to work together and to share their income as well as to work harder in order to better their standard of living. Such a desire to be effective calls for organization discipline and leadership. It also calls for an institutional framework capable of arousing and reinforcing the desired responses.

(c) Effort by the people themselves in the spirit of self-reliance is another demand of the Ujamaa Villages' policy. Effort alone is not enough for people have always toiled in the traditional society; what is demanded is intelligent work. Intelligent work calls for skills, application of technology and above all, organization, planning, cooperation and coordination. The successful implementation of the policy of Ujamaa Villages calls for the co-ordination of efforts and application of better skills and tools, in agricultural production, business, rural industries and transportation. The art of democratic

decision making and public participation in development projects also forms an integral part of the skills demanded by this strategy.

(d) The Environment includes capital, natural resources and other physical forces, which can be used to speed or retard rural development. The spirit of self-reliance places demands on the people to explore and discover as well as control their natural resources. This means the optimum utilization of land, forests, water resources, livestock and minerals. It also means the ability to harness power and to control pests, floods, epidemics and other forces of nature.

Comparing and contrasting the constraints and demands of the Ujamaa Villages' policy one can notice the demands roughly correspond to the constraints as follows:

(a) the socio-cultural constraints correspond to the demand for awareness;

(b) the political constraints correspond to the demand for motivation;

(c) the economic constraints correspond roughly to the demand for effort;

(d) the physical and environmental constraints correspond to the demand for improvement and control of the environment.

4. The Need for Adult Education

A careful analysis of the demands and constraints of the Ujamaa Villages strategy reveals the heavy reliance of this strategy

for its success on educational inputs and particularly adult education inputs.

Adult education is considered to be of critical importance in the rural areas because the improvements and changes required can only be effectively carried out through the co-operation of the adult population. Adult education is also necessitated by the fact that the country can provide school places to only 52% of the primary school age population while the country's average illiteracy rate is as high as 75%. This makes it impossible for the school system alone to make a sufficiently great impact on adult literacy in the near future. In addition rural transformation cannot afford to wait until all the children and young people completed their education. The constraints imposed by a lack of education and the demands posed by the Ujamaa Villages' policy need immediate attention if progress is to be made along the development path selected.

Before we examine the specific demands placed on adult education by the Ujamaa Villages' strategy it is now appropriate to attempt an operational definition of adult education as used in this study. Edward Hutchinson defines adult education as an activity embracing "all organized provision to enable men and women to enlarge and interpret their own living experience."[9] This definition excludes the purely casual or individual ways of acquiring knowledge. It, however, embraces

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[9]E.F. Jackson (ed.) Economic Development in Africa (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1965), page 75.

all organized activities which come under the various labels such as literacy training for adults, mass education, fundamental education, workers' education, extension work, militia training and vocational training for adults. For the purpose of this study adult education shall be taken to involve that type of adult literacy training known as functional literacy. Functional literacy attempts to combine the teaching of literacy skills with the teaching of vocational skills such as farming methods, rural construction, trades and crafts to the illiterate peasants.

Functional literacy aims at teaching the peasants in a practical way and through reading and writing the necessary knowledge, attitudes and skills relevant to the solution of their every day problems. In Tanzania, attempts are being made to base the contents of the functional literacy primers on the culture experience and problems related to the improvement of crop and animal husbandry and other spheres of village life.[10]

Functional literacy in Tanzania also seeks to mobilize the rural masses into political activity thus enabling them to fully participate in the running of their own affairs. This political dimension in Tanzania's functional literacy programmes bears some semblance to Paul Freire's method of 'conscientization.'[11]

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[10] A UNESCO-UNDP Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project was started in Tanzania in 1968 and this project covers the Lake regions of West Lake, Mwanza Shinyanga and Mara.

[11] Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder 1972) pp. 19-25.

Freire developed his method from the

(a) language, culture and problems of the illiterates themselves,

(b) the philosophies of knowledge, culture, human nature, and history, and

(c) analysis of underdevelopment.

Freire's first concern is with creating an awareness and an ideological basis for reform among the oppressed masses of peasants and workers in Latin America. This awareness, which he terms 'conscientization,' can be brought about through a programme of literacy training which involves the people in a 'dialogical' process of learning as opposed to the 'banking' process of education. The banking concept of education is a one way communication; the learners do not interact with the subject matter nor with the teacher nor with themselves in a reflective manner. The teacher is looked upon as a 'bank' of knowledge whose job is to enlighten the ignorant students. This type of learning is passive and uncritical and according to Freire it enslaves rather than liberates.[12]

Conscientization, however, leads the people into a radical awareness of their development situation thus enabling them to appreciate their ability to change and shape their own destiny. This method of literacy training leads to political mobilization because it rests on the belief that

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[12] Ibid., pp. 57-74.

(a) all men are equal,

(b) all men have a right to knowledge and culture,

(c) all men have a right to criticize their situation and act upon it,

(d) illiterates are capable of achieving a reflective outlook through self-discovery and dialogue.

According to this view the purpose of education, especially adult education, in the phase of transition from underdevelopment to development is to create a population capable of participating rationally and democratically in their own development. This is only possible if the people become aware of and understand the development policies.

Ideally this is the approach being used in Tanzania. In fact, Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' is being translated into Swahili so that it can be used for training adult educators and the literacy teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESPONSE OF ADULT EDUCATION TO THE DEMANDS OF UJAMAA LIVING IN RURAL AREAS

1. The Development of Adult Education in Tanzania

1.1 The Historical Background

The history of organized adult education[1] activities on a nation wide basis in Tanzania dates back to 1946 when these activities were incorporated as part of the Community Development programme. This programme by then catered for ex-army people in welfare centres in towns. Later in 1949 the Social Welfare Department of the Community Development programme expanded its activities to include youth clubs, adult education and probation services in towns. In 1952 similar services were extended to the rural areas. After Independence in 1961 more Community Development workers were appointed to carry out adult education in rural areas.

After the Arusha Declaration it became increasingly clear that there was need to expand quickly the adult education in the rural areas. It was thus decided to concentrate all educational programmes within one ministry and in 1969 the duties of adult education were transferred to the Ministry of National Education. However, it was not until 1970 when the aims and strategy of adult education were defined as well as

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[1] Ministry of National Education, The Development of Adult Education (1961-1971), (Dar es Salaam: 1971).

deliberate campaigns and concerted efforts in adult education were launched. Significant developments in adult education in Tanzania can be said to comprise;

(a) The UNESCO/UNDP Work-oriented Literacy Rilot Project

(b) Adult Education Year 1970

(c) The 1971 Literacy Campaign in Six selected Districts.

1.2 The UNESCO/UNDP Work-oriented Literacy Pilot Project

This project was started in 1968 in the Lake regions of West Lake, Mwanza,Shinyanga and Mara, and it is entirely located in the rural areas. The Lake regions were chosen because,in the first place, they constitute a zone of high population density and secondly they are significant producers of important crops such as cotton, coffee, cattle, rice, fish and bananas. The project,through its activities and learning programmes,hopes to stimulate;

(a) higher production in important cash crops and livestock

(b) higher political consciousness and public participation

(c) improved nutrition

The target of this project was to reduce the illiteracy rate from 85% to 40% in the four districts of Mwanza, Shinyanga, Musoma and Bukoba by the end of 1973. This meant that by 1973 100,000 rural Tanzanians were to become literate. Table 6 shows the comparative enrollments of the first and second year classes for the period July-

TABLE 6

THE UNDP/UNESCO Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project:
CLASSES AND PROJECTS 1971 (JULY-DEC.)

Classes/Projects Classes/Projects	Musoma 1st Year	Musoma 2nd Year	Shinyanga 1st Year	Shinyanga 2nd Year	Bukoba 1st Year	Bukoba 2nd Year	Mwanza 1st Year	Mwanza 2nd Year	Total
Cotton	110	617	47	579	27	91	124	462	2057
Banana	-	15	-	-	57	1634	-	-	1706
Fishing	1	116	-	-	-	8	-	44	169
Home Econ.	3	75	1	19	-	60	-	19	177
Cattle	-	114	-	10	-	-	-	17	141
Rice	-	40	-	99	-	-	-	46	185
Others	-	18	-	33	-	1	-	3	55
TOTAL	14	995	448	740	84	1794	124	591	4490

Source: UNESCO/UNDP Tanzania Literacy Pilot Project Report Mwanza, 1971.

TABLE 7

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNESCO-UNDP WORK-ORIENTED LITERACY PROJECT

Year	Field of Activity	First Year Teachers	First Year Participants	Second Year Teachers	Second Year Participants	Total (July) Participants	Total Cost to Reduce illiteracy rate from 85% - 40% in the Four districts:
1970	Four Divisions	1,300	31,000	200	4,000	35,000	Tanzania: shs. 37,399,547/-
1971	Four Districts	2,500	60,000	1,300	31,000	91,000	Unesco: shs. 8,261,060/-
1972	Four Districts	Part of National Campaign		2,500	60,000	60,000	

Source: SIDA Report. Adult Education in Tanzania, 1970.

December 1971. Since no dropouts were reported[2] this figure shows a marked increase in participation. A total of 44% people participated in six projects relevant to the economy of the Lake regions, cotton and banana growing attracting more people than the other projects. Table 7 shows the development of the UNESCO-UNDP in terms of teachers, participants and costs between 1970 and 1972. Again relying on the adult education reports that the dropout rate is low, about 5%, then the difference between the enrollments in the first and second years show a real increase in participation. The total cost of this project is shillings (T) 45,660,607 of which Tanzania covers about 80%, the rest being subsidized by the UNESCO-UNDP scheme.

The project has also been involved in the training of adult literacy trainers and in the production of teaching materials such as primers and audio-visual aids. By December 1972, the preparation of ten primers dealing with topics on crop and animal husbandry relevant to this area, as well as to health, nutrition, home economics and the politics of Tanzania, had either been completed or was in its final stages. In 1971 alone over 600,000 copies of primers were produced under this scheme.

Problems of distance and scattered pattern of settlement have imposed constraints on punctuality and regularity of attendance. Co-ordination and followup work has also been difficult because of transport and communication problems. The poor quality of the literacy

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[2] in the Deputy Director's Report - UNESCO-UNDP Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project (Mwanza: 1971) pp. 8-10.

teachers, who are barely literate themselves, coupled with the problem of shortage of primers and other teaching materials has contributed in some cases to loss of interest and dropouts from the literacy classes.[3]

1.3 Adult Education Year 1970

In his New Year's message for 1970 President Nyerere placed special emphasis on adult education and its role in national development. This was in fact in accordance with the development proposals of the Second Five-Year Plan which had emphasized the role of adult education in rural development.

The President declared 1970 as Tanzania's year of adult education and outlined the aims and objectives of adult education in Tanzania as follows:

(a) to shake people out of their resignation so as to realize what they can do for their communities and themselves

(b) to provide people with the skills necessary to bring about change in their environment

(c) to foster nation wide understanding of the policies of socialism and self-reliance.

Following this speech concrete steps were taken to reorganize the structure of the Ministry of Education so as to equip it for the task of educating the young and the old. The Ministry, late in 1969, had taken on the national responsibility for co-ordinating, organizing and initiating adult education in the country. A directorate of Adult Education had also been formed within the Ministry of National Education.

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[3] Ibid.

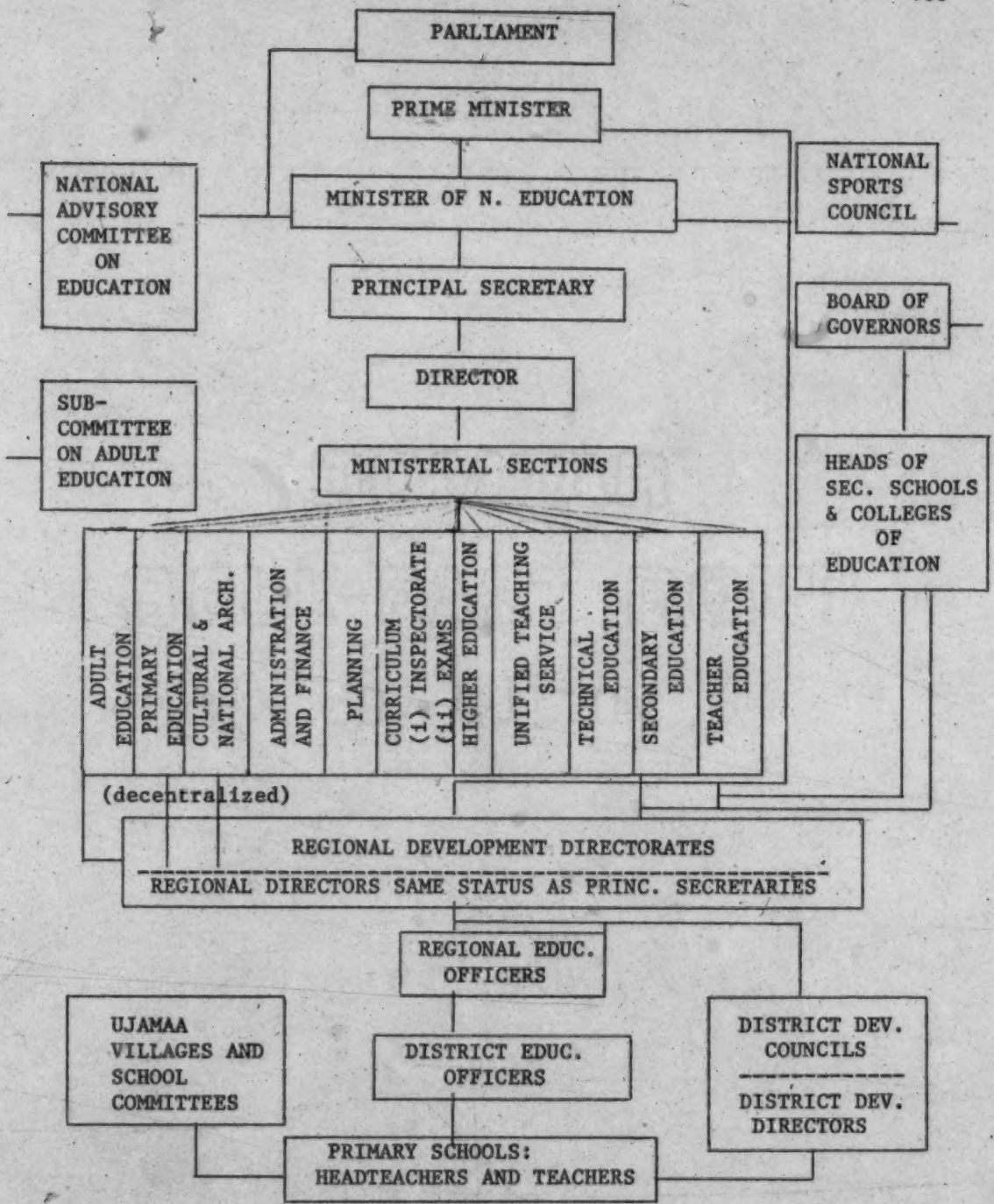

FIGURE 1

THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN TANZANIA JANUARY 1973

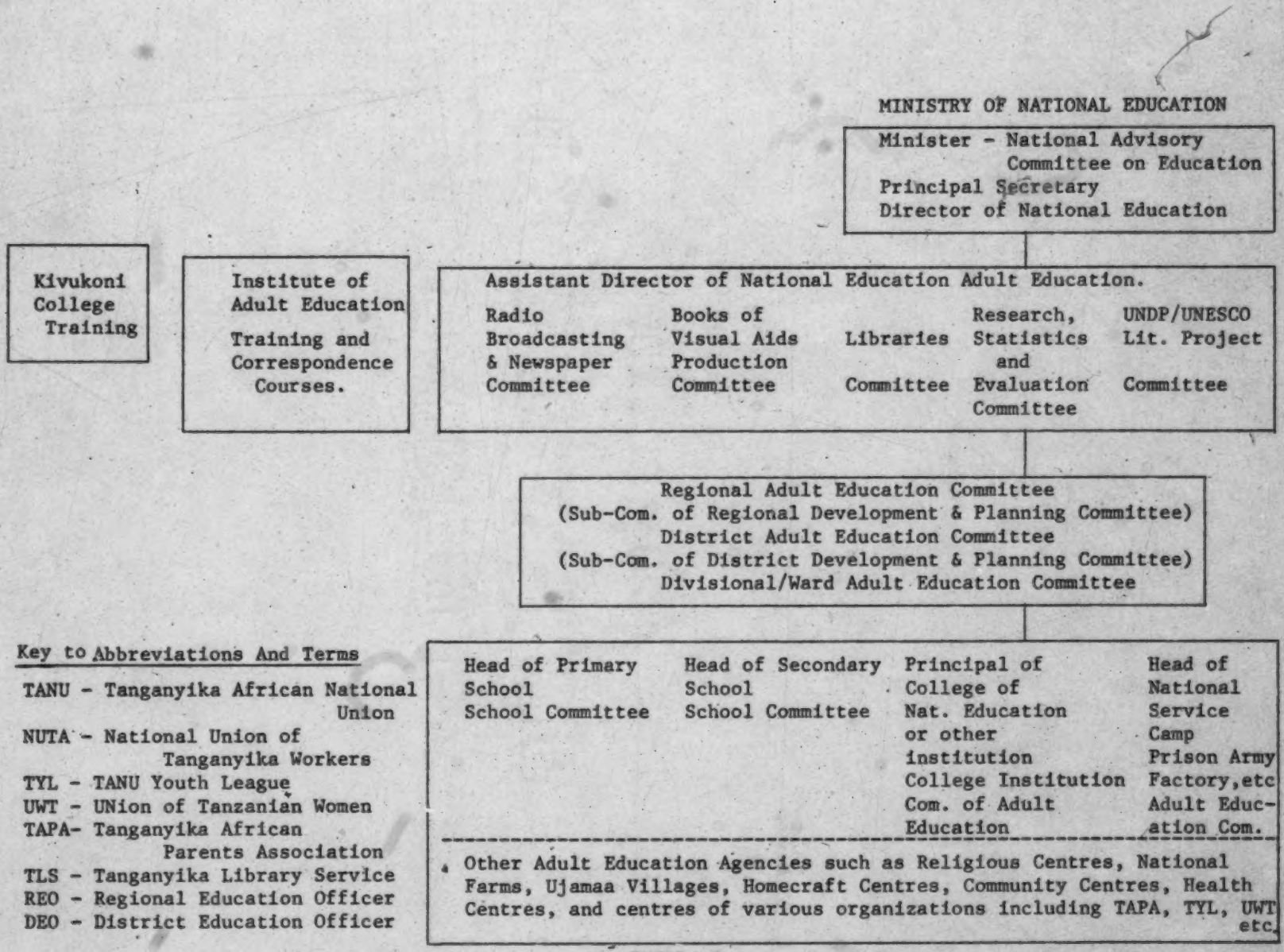
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
Minister - National Advisory Committee on Education
Principal Secretary
Director of National Education
Kivukoni College Training
Institute of Adult Education
Training and Correspondence Courses.
Assistant Director of National Education Adult Education.
Radio Broadcasting & Newspaper Committee
Books of Visual Aids Production Committee
Libraries Committee
Research, Statistics and Evaluation Committee
UNDP/UNESCO Lit. Project Committee
Regional Adult Education Committee
(Sub-Com. of Regional Development & Planning Committee)
District Adult Education Committee
(Sub-Com. of District Development & Planning Committee)
Divisional/Ward Adult Education Committee
Head of Primary School School Committee
Head of Secondary School School Committee
Principal of College of Nat. Education or other institution College Institution Com. of Adult Education
Head of National Service Camp Prison Army Factory, etc Adult Education Com.
Other Adult Education Agencies such as Religious Centres, National Farms, Ujamaa Villages, Homecraft Centres, Community Centres, Health Centres, and centres of various organizations including TAPA, TYL, UWT etc.
Key to Abbreviations And Terms
TANU - Tanganyika African National Union
NUTA - National Union of Tanganyika Workers
TYL - TANU Youth League
UWT - UNion of Tanzanian Women
TAPA- Tanganyika African Parents Association
TLS - Tanganyika Library Service
REO - Regional Education Officer
DEO - District Education Officer

FIGURE 2
ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Figures 1 and 2 show how this reorganization took place.

New educational personnel had to be trained in order to take up duties as District Education Officers (DEO.AD.ED) in charge of adult education. At present Adult Education officers have also been appointed to co-ordinate adult education activities at the divisional level. Above all the Ministry of National Education working within the broad aims of adult education outlined by the President, has defined the goals and objectives to be pursued in the attainment of the stated aims. The following is a summary of the operative goals and strategies defined by the Ministry of National Education:[4]

(a) The Operative Goals

(i) to mobilize the rural and urban masses and arouse them to consciousness of the spirit of Ujamaa;

(ii) to give knowledge and skills that will improve the productivity of the people and help raise their standard of living.

(iii) to eradicate illiteracy;

(iv) to provide follow-up education to primary and secondary school leavers and to adults with a view of settling them in Ujamaa Villages and rural areas;

(v) to provide leadership training in various aspects of rural life.

(b) The Strategy Employed

(i) the Primary school to be used as an adult learning centre;

(ii) teachers and students of secondary schools, colleges, the University and other institutions of higher learning are to act as teachers.

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[4]SIDA Adult Education in Tanzania: Report from a SIDA mission (Dar es Salaam: SIDA-tryck 1971).

(iii) rural district and national training centres, private vocational schools Co-operative Education Centre and the Co-operative College are to provide leadership courses for different aspects of rural life and follow-up courses for school-leavers;

(iv) the Institute of Adult Education, Kivukoni College and the Colleges of National education are to continue with the training of leaders and of adult educators.

(v) correspondence education and a mobile library service will help to make educational materials available throughout the country.

In addition to spelling out the goals and strategies of adult education as well as providing the organizational framework and leadership, the Ministry of National Education has drafted a curriculum of fundamental adult education. This curriculum includes:

(a) Better Farming methods

(b) Home Economics

(c) Health

(d) Craftsmanship

(e) Political Education

(f) General Knowledge

The Adult Education Year, 1970, saw also some progress made in the mobilization of people to enroll in adult education classes as well as in the preparation and training of personnel. Table 8 shows the progress made between May and September 1970. Enrollments rose three fold within a period of only four months.[5] Table 9 shows that a year

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[5]Compare this progress with that made between 1965 and 1969 when enrollments rose also threefold but within a period of four years. Cf. Table 14.

TABLE 8

ADULT EDUCATION ENROLLMENTS IN 1970 (MAY-SEPT.)

Region	1967 Census	Total Class Enrollments				
		May	June	July	August	September
Mwanza	1,055,695	8,727	15,941	23,217	26,801	32,000
Mtwara	1,041,100	6,919	8,497	9,511	13,656	16,635
Mbeya	969,997	25,506	25,506	25,506	20,004	20,759
Shinyanga	899,468	4,128	5,470	7,045	6,628	8,581
Pwani	784,249	7,016	9,589	10,038	18,198	23,769
Tanga	771,067	4,765	6,573	9,421	10,108	14,744
Dodoma	709,337	7,507	9,008	14,078	17,669	23,499
Iringa	689,905	18,479	21,888	27,212	34,723	41,833
Morogoro	684,983	4,682	7,594	9,015	18,927	21,503
Ziwa Magharibi	685,105	16,090	10,320	16,090	18,719	26,605
Kilimanjaro	652,661	6,840	7,569	9,754	12,654	15,822
Arusha	610,436	7,036	6,853	9,441	10,355	12,017
Tabora	562,853	8,442	8,977	14,766	10,300	12,601
Mara	544,125	4,424	5,676	9,100	9,487	9,991
Kogoma	473,443	6,455	7,998	10,178	13,782	18,112
Singida	457,938	4,895	7,736	9,999	9,820	12,499
Ruvuma	393,043	2,331	5,126	5,964	10,031	15,000
Total		144,242	170,301	271,335	261,369	324,664

Sources: Ministry of National Education,
Adult Education Report, 1971.
Dar es Salaam

TABLE 9

ADULT EDUCATION STATISTICS FOR THE MONTHS OF APRIL, MAY AND JUNE 1971

Region	April	May	June
Mwanza	58,987	114,498	127,874
Mtwara	58,235	78,061	91,442
Mbeya	22,700	22,200	22,700
Shinyanga	13,153	37,153	52,623
Pwani	46,775	57,749	59,924
Tanga	25,211	26,613	26,613
Dodoma	43,396	43,396	49,327
Iringa	55,076	55,076	55,076
Morogoro	30,442	42,939	33,852
Ziwa Magh.	30,085	48,263	66,451
Kilimanjaro	50,853	54,567	61,613
Arusha	18,672	19,466	23,937
Tabora	16,240	18,486	22,449
Mara	21,356	42,990	43,793
Kigoma	32,815	42,694	46,771
Singida	22,434	24,190	24,599
Ruvuma	25,881	29,462	30,900
JUMLA (TOTAL)	577,311	748,706	839,944

Sources: Ministry of National Education, Adult Education Report, 1971. Dar es Salaam.

later in June 1971 total enrollments had risen from 170,301 (June 1970) to 839,944 representing a fivefold rise within twelve months. Participation in teaching adult education classes between September 1970 and September 1971 shows a marked rise; while enrollments in subjects like Kiswahili, Reading and Writing also rose. Tables 10, 11 and 12 show these increases.

1.4 The 1971 Literacy Campaign

In his New Year's message to the nation for 1971 President Nyerere called upon the nation, with a measure of urgency, to speed up the pace of the literacy campaigns. He called upon the six districts of Mafia, Ukerewe, Dar es Salaam, Masasi, Pare and Kilimanjaro to wipe out illiteracy by the end of the year (1971).

Mafia Island was chosen because of the need to change the negative attitudes towards learning and work which were then prevalent in the island. Social inequalities, especially in the form of sex discrimination against women, was still practised. Hard work was also considered unbefitting a gentleman (Mwinyi).

Attitudes in Ukerewe and Pare were different. The people in these two districts were enthusiastic, energetic and willing to learn. However, Pare district presented the problem of inaccessibility because of the mountain relief of the region as well as the scattered pattern of settlement.

Masasi and Kilimanjaro were included because the general level of education in these districts was considered above average for Tanzania.

TABLE 10

ADULT EDUCATION STATICS - SEPTEMBER, 1971

Region	Enrollment by Subjects					Organizations Supplying Teachers										Enrollment by Subjects									
	Craftmanship	Culture	Economics	Militia	Others	School Teachers	Students	TANU	Agriculture	Health	Rural Dev.	Co-operatives	Religious Groups	Others	Typing	English	1967 Census	Women	Men	Total	Political Education	Agriculture	Health	Reading & Writing	Home Economics	Swahili Arith - History
Mwanza	-	-	15	133	91	923	78	51	35	38	57	-	8	1165	52	21330	1,055,141	73770	64334	138104	28585	43748	26916	90860	9465	44609
Mtwara	-	-	-	-	650	-	19	-	17	20	-	-	-	7	-	3326	1,041,125	37048	36474	73520	17829	1855	14918	47765	3117	2546
Mbeya	283	132	15	180	-	610	49	35	60	44	26		3	486	110	2880	969,297	16942	25269	42211	10099	9530	7615	23798	3229	1670
Shinyanga	153	800	25126	800	-	666	15	35	41	32	41	4	4	989	42	4209	899,468	32760	31827	64587	32445	28228	30866	61110	13492	16210
Pwani	2142	2106	110	1178	16	1099	136	59	98	54	71	-	8	989	30	695	784,249	33732	24880	58612	17643	11985	17445	32699	14444	11739
Tanga	1263	618	297	465	123	701	84	21	29	34	28	1	15	300	53	2684	771,067	15627	17114	32741	11454	2474	6063	19596	3717	4394
Dodoma	5821	6497	1101	-	421	942	217	33	97	92	64	4	43	1276	61	15442	709,337	32174	31028	63202	32770	23744	32565	47940	18817	60136
Iringa	2192	2106	110	1178	16	999	136	59	98	54	71	-	8	989	30	695	689,995	33732	24880	58612	17643	11985	17445	30299	14444	11739
Morogoro Zimi	4000	188	234	257	-	727	232	44	29	30	20	1	16	460	132	4518	680,980	19845	21838	41683	16875	12144	14715	24197	15975	4925
Kagerabi	280	547	24	164	-	761	128	93	49	41	27	18	19	1488	226	1137	685,105	53835	34520	88355	62056	59233	4235	76517	2834	139941
Kilimanjaro	792	8825	1867	486	-	484	127	44	70	72	64	22	35	1289	134	9525	652,662	27899	41333	69232	5195	16659	19429	67027	15992	32495
Arusha	962	1303	528	1239	760	545	128	49	39	48	41	-	18	462	149	2967	610,436	31989	17251	29240	29240	9646	7319	21603	6414	16296
Tabora	364	136	-	-	-	393	120	36	49	29	16	-	16	292	-	1333	562,052	16836	14812	31648	6312	2341	4268	16091	3478	3387
Mara	488	1024	17	425	30	537	36	24	22	11	24	5	20	13	60	295	544,125	27461	18942	56403	3290	23866	6823	56403	6581	45035
Kigoma	2574	7407	387	480	-	467	102	62	35	21	27	-	95	677	-	5544	473,443	29693	25137	54830	20468	15703	27695	43793	5975	48424
Singida	675	285	-	-	26	413	-	15	15	-	13	-	-	589	52	1933	457,938	20751	14521	35276	11080	6814	5157	35275	3777	1947
Ruvuma	1083	-	2005	642	-	575	62	48	49	54	26	64	170	351	36	2068	393,043	17891	19608	37499	7778	3838	3897	24509	3441	6942
Lindi	144	-	489	-	-	316	27	10	16	11	9	-	-	322	44	1109	1,041,125	10868	14401	25369	6368	1693	2949	8984	907	2788
Jumla	23216	32420	32032	7987	2139	12870	1700	700	800	722	665	119	478	11904	1230	81730	11,967,181	522967	478148	1001126	344539	289974	249210	736166	142931	518518

Source: Ministry of National Education, Adult Education Report, 1971, Dar es Salaam

TABLE 11

COMPARATIVE ENROLLMENTS[1]

By Subjects	September 1970	September 1971
1. Political Education	127,332	344,539
2. Better Farming Methods	83,350	288,944
3. Health	101,206	249,210
4. Reading and Writing	195,007	736,166
5. Domestic Science	42,501	142,001
6. Typewriting	3,495	1,230
7. Craftmanship	12,712	23,216
8. Kiswahili/Arithmetic/etc.	39,229	518,518
9. English	21,474	81,730
10. Culture	11,189	32,420
11. Economics	2,331	32,032
12. Militia	1,495	7,987
13. Others	2,939	2,139

[1]Adult Education Report 1971 - Ministry of Education

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF ADULT EDUCATION TEACHERS[1]

By Organizations	September 1970	September 1971
1. Schools/Colleges Teachers	7,643	11,577
2. Students	1,639	2,490
3. TANU Leaders	399	740
4. Specialists from Agr.	632	119
5. Specialists from Health	570	684
6. Specialists from Rural Dev.	663	609
7. Specialists from Co-op.	781	115
8. Religious Leaders	368	459
9. Army/Police/Prisons, etc.	6,403	36,140

[1]Adult Education Report 1971 - Ministry of Education

The description and evaluation of this campaign has been done by members of the Institute of Adult Education.[6] Reference should be made to table 13 which has been constructed from this evaluation and the 1971 Adult Education Report by the Ministry of National Education.

Mafia Island had in February 1971 an adult population of 10,000 of which 8,500 were illiterates. By the end of March all the illiterates were enrolled in adult education classes and by the end of the year the island had achieved 100% literacy. The success of the Mafia Literacy campaign can largely be accounted for by the role of leadership and organization. A new Area Commissioner to Mafia had been appointed shortly before the campaign. He himself was a trained adult educator. He began by setting the whole political and administrative machinery to achieving the eradication of illiteracy on the island. Action committees down to the adult literacy classes were instituted. These class committees served as effective mechanisms for keeping up the motivation among the members.

Like in the Literacy Pilot project in the Lake regions the problems of lack of educational materials and the poor quality of the literacy teachers presented constraints to the campaign. As the honoraria for the literacy teachers quite often came late, the motivation of these teachers at times was low. Distance from the centres, lack of proper shelter at the centres from rains and the problem of

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[6]Mhaiki, P.J. et al., The 1971 Literacy Campaign (University of Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1971).

TABLE 13

PROGRESS OF LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN THE SIX DISTRICTS 1971

District	1970		1971			
	Total Pop. (1967)	Illiterates	Literates M	Literates F	Illiterates	Literates
Mafia	16,748	8,545	3,449	5,100	-	100%
Ukerewe	109,277	36,000	11,992	23,851	0.4%	99.6%
Pare	149,635	24,121	8,888	15,233	-	100%
Masasi	227,858	51,973	20,775	24,589	11%	89%
Kilimanjaro	473,832	46,510	17,692	27,774	3%	97%
Dar es Salaam	348,394	100,000	12,834	15,472	71.7%	28.3%

Sources: (a) Institute of Adult Education. The 1971 Literacy Campaign, Dar es Salaam, 1971.

(b) Ministry of National Education, Adult Education Report, 1971, Dar es Salaam.

adjusting habits and long established time-budgets to new ones affected punctuality and regularity of attendance.

In order to test the effectiveness of the campaign the new literates were required to register for the standard (grade) four examination of the Primary School. About 2,000 people registered of which 414 passed the examination.

Ukerewe leaders showed ingenuity in finding methods of motivating people and villages into participating in adult literacy classes. Prizes and competitions were instituted to encourage high quality in learning. The competitions and prizes were group based. The district started the campaign with 36,000 illiterates; by the end of 1971 there were only 0.4% of the adult population who were still illiterate. Motivational problems, dropouts, shortage of educational materials, transport and adjustment problems figured as major constraints in this campaign.

Masasi district had underestimated its population of illiterates due to the inaccuracy of the pre-campaign surveys. In actual fact the number of illiterates was in the region of over 60,000. By the end of the year the district had achieved 89% literacy. Lack of teaching materials like in the other campaigns constituted the major problem. When the local leaders were interviewed to assess the progress of the literacy campaign they felt that political awareness public participation had increased.[7] People had begun to question

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[7]Paul Mhaiki interviews with district leaders in Masasi, ibid., pp. 40-48.

some of the customs and attitudes such as the 'Limbumba' and 'Mwinyi.' The 'Limbumba' is a matriachal matrilocal kinship system among the Yao and the Mwera. In this system more often the wife 'dismisses' the husband. The children and crops remain with the family of the wife. This raises the problem of insecurity and lack of commitment to development projects on the part of the husband. According to the custom of the 'Mwinyi' a gentleman of reputable parentage is not supposed to do any manual work.

Kilimanjaro started the campaign with an illiterate population of 43,966. The problem encountered was to convince the illiterate people of the social and economic value of becoming literate. For the illerate adults argued that they had witnessed thousands of primary school-leavers without jobs or land and in spite of the latter's ability to read and write they were unable to improve their conditions of living. The leadership, which included TANU leaders, village elders and adult educators explained to the people the benefits of literacy especially when it is used by co-operating individuals. Among other problems confronting the campaign in this district were poor eyesight and insufficiency of teaching materials. The campaign succeeded in making literate 97% of the total illiterate population in the district.

Information is incomplete on the Dar es Salaam campaign but as Table 13 shows this was the poorest campaign among the six. The causes have yet to be determined but from the author's knowledge of urban centres and especially, Dar es Salaam, the problem of motivation would figure as the major constraint. Because the city dwellers are

accustomed to seeing large number of unemployed educated young men and since agriculture is not appealing to them; they would not be motivated to become literate. For literacy like in many parts of the country was associated with getting employment away from the land. Social customs and recreational activities offered by the city such as soccer, beer drinking, card games and gambling could have been found more attractive than literacy classes. With the bustle of city life it is also difficult for the local leadership to organize a mobilization campaign to get the illiterates to classes. In sum, the poor performance in Dar es Salaam reflects the point that an abundance of materials and resources do not assure success; full support and understanding of the learners is essential.

Pare succeeded in reaching 100% literacy by the end of the campaign. The district started in January 1971 with 24,121 illiterates and by December 1971 every one of these had been registered in literacy classes. Like in Mafia, the leadership and organizational factor played an important role in the implementation of the campaign. People's participation and coordination among agencies and Government Ministries was high. One important lesson to be learnt from the Pare campaign was the amount of preparation and political mobilization that was devoted to this project led to greater people's participation. The literacy class committees composed of the adult learners were powerful mechanisms for guaranteeing attendance and performance. The problems encountered in this campaign were similar to those in other campaigns, although the problem of establishing adult education

centres among semi-nomadic pastoralists was unique to the district.

At the end of the campaign a test on the basic 3Rs skills was administered to the new literates.

As a general overview of the 1971 Literacy campaign in the six districts a number of observations can be made:

(a) Materials were not in sufficient supplies. It seems that the mobilization campaign went far ahead of the capacity to supply the educational materials needed. This discrepancy may have accounted for the loss of motivation and dropout rates in adult literacy classes.

(b) The problem of transportation made it difficult for efficient supervision, co-ordination and follow-up. The delivery of materials was also delayed because of transportation difficulties.

(c) Organization and People's participation in their literacy class committee seems to have guaranteed better attendance and performance.

(d) The quality of the teaching depended very much on the training and motivation of the voluntary teachers. In most of the cases these voluntary teachers however were not adequately trained and the payment of their honoraria was inconsistent. Inadequate training resulted in the voluntary teachers being unable to teach or being so tactless as to antagonize the adult learners. The inconsistency in the payment of honoraria caused a number of

voluntary teachers to be disheartened.

(e) Follow-up work seems to be necessary if the new literates are not to relapse into illiteracy.

1.5 General Progress Made in Adult Education Over the Whole Country Between 1970 and 1972

At its 15th biennial conference held in Dar es Salaam in September 1971, TANU passed a resolution calling for the eradication of adult illiteracy by 1975. The progress towards this goal is encouraging. Of the estimated 5 million illeterate adults as indicated in Table 1; 2,688,554 had become literate by December 1972. Tables 8, 9, 12 and 15 also show the progress in the regions as well as the types of activities done in the adult education classes. It is interesting to note that the three leading regions in enrollments namely Mwanza, Westlake and Shinyanga form part of the Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project.

Table 14 shows the expenditure on Adult Education for the period 1970 to 1972. An average of over 9 million shillings has been spent on adult education activities of which more than 50% had been directed towards the payment of honoraria and financing of evening courses, project materials and teaching materials. Table 14 also shows there was an underestimation of the costs of the Literacy campaign and evening courses; an additional 1.9 million shillings had to be supplemented.

Some fluctuations in the enrollments can be observed in some regions during certain periods of the year. During the rainy season

TABLE 14

EXPENDITURE ON ADULT EDUCATION

Year	Total Estimates	Estimates Detailed		Actual Allocation (Vote)	Supplementary Vote Sept. 1971
1970/71	Shs (T) 9,960,500	Honoraria		1,300,000	
		Project Mater.		1,750,000	
		Teaching Mater.		200,000	
		Evening Course		600,000	
1971/72	Shs (T) 9,306,800	Honoraria	2,500,000	935,000	1,565,000
		Project Mater.	1,750,000	450,000	nil
		Teaching Mater.	500,000	100,000	200,000
		Evening Course	600,000	200,000	200,000
1972/73	Shs (T) 9,829,200	----------		---------	---------

Source: Ministry of National Education. Adult Education Reports 1970, 1971, Dar es Salaam.

TABLE 15

SUMMARY OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRESS 1965-1973

Year	Adult Illiteracy Population	Total Enrollment	Those Who Became Literate	Leading Regions	Region With Least Progress	Teachers Involved
1965	-	227,000	-	-	-	-
1966	-	360,000	-	-	-	-
1967	-	372,000	-	-	-	-
1969	-	600,000	-	-	-	-
Jan. 1970 to Jan. 1973	5 million	-	2,688,554 (Dec. 1972)	(1) Mwanza 1,442,180 (2) Westlake 284,989 (3) Shinyanga 187,113	Dodoma 64,173	68,173

Sources: Ministry of National Education, Adult Education Report, 1971, Dar es Salaam

and pick or harvest season which are normally between December and July literacy classes are at their lowest rate in attendance. However, as Tables 8, 9, 12 show there has been a steady increase in the enrollments for the years 1970 and 1971. Table 11 shows that between 1970 and 1971 the teaching force engaged in adult education rose from about 19,000 to 53,000. Students, teachers, the National Service and the Armed Forces contributed the greatest number of teachers. In this way adult education has been a means of bringing together groups of people which were otherwise not integrated with the rural people. While Tables 10 and 12 show the wide range of activities covered as well as the interest shown in them in the different regions.

From the examination of these tables and the discussion of the two literacy campaigns it is evident that the enrollment and activities of adult education have been growing very fast in Tanzania since the Adult Education Year 1970. This growth is an indication of the people's understanding and interest in learning. It should be noted however that when mobilization and people's enthusiasm do not match with the ability of the system to cope with the demands for materials and teachers the people are likely to be disheartened. In fact in certain cases during the 1970-71 campaigns certain adult education centres had to be closed because of the lack of teachers and teaching materials. The problems of transport, vehicles, follow-up and supervision as already described in the sections dealing with the 1971 Literacy Campaign also apply to all the regions.

Progress has been made in the fields of printing of primers and other reading material but production still needs to be stepped up to meet the increasing demand for such material. Another area of development has been the deliberate attempt to integrate agencies and institutions of adult learning. There is now greater co-operation between the Institute of Adult Education, Kivukoni College, the Co-operative College and Social Training Institute. Figure 2 shows how the different institutions are related to each other. To sum up the development of adult education in Tanzania one can safely say that the definition of aims, goals and strategies as well as the establishment of the organization for the operation of adult education activities has been an achievement. The evidence of enthusiasm and motivation is another indication of success on the part of the leadership to get the people involved.

2. Assessment of the Role of Adult Education in Meeting the Needs of the Ujamaa Villages' Strategy

It is very difficult to assess the effectiveness of adult education in meeting the demands of the Ujamaa Villages strategy. First, of all the activities included under adult education are numerous and it is difficult to sum them up and assess their impact. Secondly, organized adult education campaigns started only three years ago thus it is yet too early to determine the depth and extent of changes towards the development of Ujamaa living. However, if we limit ourselves to the three campaigns just described in the previous section and to

the numerical growth of adult education classes and the establishment of the Ujamaa Villages we may be able to make some kind of assessment.

2.1 The Role of Adult Education in Preparing and Motivating People for Ujamaa Living

The steady increase in adult education enrollments as shown in Tables 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 show the people's response to the President's call for adult education. Enrollments have risen from 600,000 in 1969 to 2,688,554 by December 1972, which number is more than half of the total population of illiterate adults. Table 10 also shows the type of subjects taught and hence the preparation being offered to the villagers for Ujamaa living. Literacy, language, political education and better farming methods are among the most popular subjects. As noted in Chapter Three it was during the height of the adult education campaign, i.e. 1971/72 that the number of Ujamaa Villages rose from 2,700 to 5,000. This indicates that there exists a relationship between adult education inputs and the growth of Ujamaa Villages.

The effectiveness of adult education in mobilizing the people is however limited. For this effectiveness depends on the co-operation with the local leadership as well as on the availability of materials, resources and personnel. The danger is that mobilization of the people to learn the Ujamaa way of living may go faster than the capacity of the Government and the people to cope up with the situation. The Dodoma campaigns between 1970/71 which resulted in the classic 'Operation Dodoma' are examples of such a discrepancy. Political campaigns were launched intensively and extensively in

Dodoma district to convince the pastoral-leaning Gogo people to solve the water shortage problem by living the Ujamaa way. The people responded to this call in thousands. However, it seems it was almost impossible in that short period of time to adequately prepare the people for socialist living. The first and foremost need was to help these people find shelter before the rains started, for they had already abandoned their dwellings and looked upon the Party and the Government to provide shelter for them.

This dependence on the Government was a similar symptom of the 'false start' of the settlement schemes. Adult education could do very little to cure this attitude given the massive response and the limited time. Moreover, something greater was at stake, and the Party and the Government could not wait to act. If the Government did not act in time or if it chose to turn away the people until proper preparation had taken place, that would have meant the end of the Ujamaa venture in Dodoma. For the people would feel cheated by their Government. The Government therefore decided to mount a massive aid-campaign to the Dodoma Ujamaa Villages. Hopefully, once the people have been settled, adult education can work on them to change the attitude of dependence even though the work has become more difficult now.

Similar incongruences and discrepancies have been noticed during the Work-oriented Literacy project and the Literacy campaigns in the six districts. Lack of resources and essential materials at the time when they are needed constitutes a problem to continued motivation of the people. Moreover, at present the successful implementation

of adult education is hampered by the vast distances to be covered and the scattered pattern of village settlements. It would appear that success in adult education would also depend on the rate of 'villagization' and collectivization of the rural settlements.

However, commitment to an ideology is another aspect which has aided the success of the Ujamaa Villages policy. Adult education in Tanzania, not only stimulates the desire to live co-operatively but also attempts to achieve ideological commitment to the Ujamaa spirit. This dual approach to adult education which seeks to explain the policies and their implications and attempts to create a commitment to socialism is a distinguishing feature of Tanzania's adult education programmes. For, literacy and learning of other skills, are not considered as ends in themselves but rather as means for achieving socialist development in Tanzania.

Many things have been accomplished by adult education as regards informing and motivating the people. Yet more could be done! Adult education in the form of the literacy classes, radio programmes, political rallies, seminars, discussion groups and the mass media could be an effective vehicle for the people and their leaders to interact with each other. As a matter of fact the nature of adult education procedures and methods, placing heavy emphasis on discussion and co-operative learning, renders adult education activities to be powerful agents of socialist and democratic training. Group support, which stems from the discussions, is more likely to encourage people into accepting a change in the status quo.

Literacy training and the widespread use of Swahili in the adult education classes has also enabled the people to communicate and become aware of themselves, other people, and the country's policies. Adult education could go beyond this and engage itself in projects of elliciting knowledge from the adults which could be useful in the development of Swahili, national culture, and other useful skills.

During the national festivals or during the Adult Education week visiting cultural groups, agricultural fairs and exhibitions organized by the adult education study groups could be used as powerful instruments for motivating people to learn and adopt the Ujamaa way of living.

2.2 The Role of Adult Education in Improving the Quality of Production

The impact of the UNESCO-UNDP Work-oriented Adult Literacy project in the four districts is yet to be assessed, nevertheless a visit to Mwanza and Shinyanga districts by the author in 1971 revealed a noticeable increase in the use of fertilizers, ox-ploughs, carts, and the tractor, compared to the period between 1961 and 1966. The important point here is the shift, although slowly, from extensive cultivation to more intelligent application of technology in agricultural production.

An examination of the aims and the curriculum drawn by the Ministry of National Education for adult education shows however, that, if properly organized and administered, the different adult education programmes are likely to impart the necessary skills, knowledge and

attitudes needed for Ujamaa development in the villages. So far the main emphasis in rural adult education has been on the training of leaders, and functional literacy training of the peasants. Quite often, adult education has encountered difficulties concerned with shortages in qualified personnel and lack of relevant teaching materials. The 1971 Literacy campaign shows clearly that these deficiencies accompanied with poor follow-up support to learning pose a very serious problem. Punctuality, dropouts and irregularity of attendance are problems also associated with the pattern of settlement, customs, rituals and the like. These problems hinder the effective development of the skills, for the latter lack continuity and practice required. To solve these problems one would need to amalgamate work, leisure and learning, such an amalgamation being possible only when people live in close proximity. Another solution would be to conduct these rural 'vocational training' classes during the dry season when there is very little farm work, so as to avoid 'time-budget' crises. The problem with this latter approach lies in the ability of the leadership to convince the people to sacrifice their time for leisure time activities such as festivals, dances and the like so as to attend at adult education classes.

Despite these difficulties, adult education, especially through the extension services and the Functional Literacy scheme is doing a remarkable job in communicating the new skills concerning animal and crop husbandry to the farmers. However success in this has come only when the people were sufficiently motivated and where organization and

the provision of personnel and materials did not present a serious problem. Changes in attitudes, practices and in production methods have occurred mostly among members of Ujamaa Villages especially during the period 1969 to 1972. When the author visited Kilolo, Magulilwa and Luganga Ujamaa Villages in Iringa district, in 1971 September, he noticed that a variety of crops and animals were now being raised in these villages compared to what was the practice six years before. Ox-drawn carts, tractors, piped-water storage for the crops, a distinct division of labour, village assemblies and the like now characterize the pattern of life in these Ujamaa Villages. More fertilizers and other agricultural technology are now being used in these villages. This has been partly due to the charismatic appeal of the leadership especially that of President Nyerere to the people and partly this can be accounted for by the adult education efforts expended towards this end.

In the Ujamaa Villages themselves adult education is called upon to impart the attitudes of working together and the skills needed in democratic public participation. More important perhaps is that adult education is called upon to step up the entrepreneurial skills among the villagers. Vocational training in record keeping, simple bookkeeping and accounting, storekeeping, transportation and the like, is necessary if the villages are to be self-supporting economically viable units. Adult education could partly meet this demand by arranging training seminars and evening classes to groups of people who are interested. One group in particular, the primary school leavers could be encouraged to participate in these courses; thus the problem of the

primary school leaver would partially be solved: for the young men and women from the schools would no longer feel rejected by their own society and moreover they would find themselves performing useful functions in society.

However, it must be noted from the adult education experiences in Tanzania so far, that functional literacy and vocational training for the peasant farmers has been viable only in palces of high population density and where the villagers had some way of coming together and organizing themselves for learning and production.

2.3 Adult Education as an Agent for People's Control of their Environment

It is difficult to assess the ability of adult education in enabling people to gain an increasing mastery of their cultural and physical environments in quantifiable terms. Certainly increased awareness and knowledge of the people about themselves and their surroundings gives them power to make decisions and changes in the environment. Knowledge about the causes of the problems of floods, pests, drought, malnutrition and disease for example, could enable the villagers to tackle their problems more effectively.

In the Ujamaa Villages the combination of organization leadership and adult education is working to free the people from ignorance of the nature of the physical and biological forces surrounding them. Adult education is also helping to loosen the grip of tradition thus opening up the minds of the people to enquiry, initiative and change. The use of superior technology in the Ujamaa Villages has also contributed greatly to the overcoming of such problems as, water shortage,

soil erosion, floods, pests, diseases and hunger.

Control of the environment as used in this context also means the setting up or the adaptation of suitable cultural and physical environments favouring growth. It also means the knowledge and effective use of the country's natural resources. Adult education could play a part in this by informing the people and setting the opportunity for the development and practice of the required attitudes. It cannot do more than this for the rest can be done more efficiently through government or business activity.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to identify the problem of underdevelopment in Tanzania as being mainly connected with rural underdevelopment.

In order to remove this rural backwardness the leadership in Tanzania has opted for a step by step transformation based on the principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance. This thesis has argued that given the economic, historical and ideological development in Tanzania at the moment, the strategy of rural transformation through Ujamaa Villages is a logical development. The principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance place certain demands and constraints when it comes to their practical application in the process of rural transformation. An attempt to spell out these demands and constraints and how well these can be met through adult education has been made.

The study, however, has been limited in several ways; for the data and evidence available to the author do not allow for definitive conclusions to be made. From the experiences of the literacy campaigns mounted in 1971 and the Functional Literacy Project in the Lake regions, it can be deduced that adult education to a certain extent is able to meet some of these demands and to overcome some of the constraints. The demands for awareness, motivation and mobilization of the people for Ujamaa living can be met through adult education more effectively when the latter is fully integrated with the other development projects in the rural areas. This realization is important for

it points out the limitations and ability of adult education in bringabout social change on its own, and thus it serves as a useful hint to adult education planners.

As a whole, assessing the performance of adult education in Tanzania between 1970 and 1972 one must say that it has been quite successful; judging by the increased participation in adult education classes. There is every evidence that this is rising and one can assume that the knowledge and skills taught in these classes to the farmers have some effect in improving their lives.

While there is no quantitative evidence that this is so, one bases the assumption on the fact that since the content of the programmes has direct relevance to the improvement of conditions of life in the society; such knowledge would eventually be useful to the population. This assumption is further supported by the fact that since attendance at these classes is voluntary it seems unlikely that people would continue to come to the classes unless they perceived certain benefits from what they were learning.

It could be argued that the adults come to the classes either through encouragement of their peers or in an attempt to demonstrate their support for the Party's policy; and that the knowledge they acquire in the classes is not translated into action to improve their way of life. In short, the adult learners in the villages build up two 'knowledge systems': one practical and useful, which they acquire through the traditional means of socialization and the other acquired through attending formal adult classes. The former guides their every

day way of life, the latter is used to impress friends about their support for the Party and the Government. This point of view is difficult to accept partly because of the voluntaristic nature of the attendance. There is no evidence of Government or other forms of political pressure on the people to attend adult education classes in order to demonstrate their support for the Government. In addition areas with high incidence of attendance at adult education activities have also been areas where the Ujamaa Villages' policy has been more fully accepted. The acceptance of this policy often means some change in the way of living among the farmers, such changes or willingness to accept changes can be in part attributed to adult education.

Judging from the number of adult education teachers who come forward to aid the Government in its adult education efforts one can also say that there have been substantial progress. These teachers receive no regular pay but an honorarium of 30 shillings per month only for teaching in these classes. Their continued participation shows zeal and committedness to the cause of educating the nation. The shortage of personnel to teach in these classes is only obvious in areas where there is a shortage of formally educated persons to teach.

Success in the Ujamaa Villages' policy has depended on many other factors as well such as the use of Swahili as a common language, the ideological aspect of adult education, the nature of the adult education programmes and many ofther factors.

The Party and the Government are fully committed to the adult education programmes. This support and committment has made it possible for relatively massive programmes to be conducted. The Government, utilizing the principle of 'the critical mass' has made adult education a central rather than a peripheral activity. In this way it becomes easier to get the total population involved since it is not a minority who attend at the adult education activities.

The nature of the programmes used reflect the local needs and the knowledge thus imparted, is directly relevant to the solution of particular problems in the rural areas. This functional nature of the adult education programmes has been a powerful incentive for adults to come to the classes.

The facility of the population with Swahili has made it easier for the Government and adult education organizers to reach the people and mobilize them for co-operation and national integration.

The ideological aspect of adult education has made the development of the cooperative spirit more successful. For knowledge alone is not always enough to get people to change their way of life from the individualistic interests developed during colonial rule to co-operative living.

The success of the Ujamaa Villages' policy is partly tied up with these factors as well. Moreover the attempt by the Government to redirect services and rewards to areas which showed positive response in accepting the Ujamaa Villages' policy has helped both the development of adult education and the Ujamaa Villages in those areas.

Efforts by the Government to reduce the imbalance between rural and urban life and make working on the farm more attractive has also been a contributing factor to the growth of Ujamaa Villages. For adult education on its own would not have been successful to get people to change their way of life in the rural areas, without some tangible efforts to indicate that life in Ujamaa Villages was in fact improving vis a vis life in other sectors of the society.

The support given by other institutions in promoting the Ujamaa Villages policy such as the press, co-operatives and the Rural Development Bank and the absence of an opposition political party has meant that the information and services provided were reinforcing the policy. Institutional participation in Ujamaa Villages could be widened still further so as to include insurance, trade and industrial corporations.

The charismatic leadership of President Nyerere has been an important factor in the development of Ujamaa Villages and adult education. The people trust him and believe what he asks them to do is good for them. The President also has shown by example that he practices what he preaches; he has visited and lived in several Ujamaa Villages wroking shoulder to shoulder with the peasants.

To conclude, this study suggests that there are many areas which need to be explored in trying to identify the relationship that exists between adult education inputs and the success of the Ujamaa Villages' strategy. The following broad hypotheses could thus be developed and tested:

(a) adult education in rural areas is more effective in implementing the Ujamaa Villages' policy where it is integrated with other development projects than when it is conducted independently.

(b) the integration of adult education programmes in the daily lives of the rural people is more likely to occur where a collective and co-operative pattern of settlement already exists.

(c) the demand for improvement in skills, productivity and raising the standards of living in the Ujamaa Villages can be met more effectively through a programme of functional literacy.

The list of hypotheses could be extended but the point being made is that this study has raised some basic issues in the conduct of and expectations from adult education programmes in rural areas. One area of research could be the evaluation of specific campaigns in each of the districts covered in the Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot project. A project aimed at conducting preliminary surveys of the co-operative relations of production in the tribal societies and institutions such as the 'snake dance' and the 'bugobogobo' work-dance among the Sukuma or the 'Moran' institution among the Masai, is another research possibility.

The evaluation of the Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot project is important because the methods and materials being tested in this project will later be used for the national campaign for universal adult

literacy. An evaluation of the impact of the demonstration projects and the literacy skills, or the quality of rural life would be useful in assessing the value of the methods and materials being used. Similarly the Literacy campaigns carried out in the six districts in 1971 could be assessed as to their impact on the lives of the rural masses and on the pace of Ujamaa Villages' development in these areas.

Another area of enquiry would be to assess the impact of adult literacy on the quality of primary education. Can adult literacy speed up the attainment of universal primary education in Tanzania? Depth studies involving case studies of Ujamaa Villages to determine the educational demands of the adult population in the Ujamaa Villages could be more enlightening to the planners of adult education.

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